THE Present State OF THE PRINCES AND REPUBLICKS OF ITALY, With Observations on them.

The Second Edition *Corrected and Enlarged, with the manner of the Election of Popes, and a Character of* SPAIN.

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LONDON, Printed for *John Starkey*, at the *Mitre* near *Temple-Bar* in *Fleet-Street*, 1671.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

To the Right Honourable,

ROBERT, *Earl of* Sunderland, *Baron* Spencer *of* WORMLEIGHTON.

My Lord.

'TIs usual with some when they publish any of their works, to pretend they were forced to it by the importunity of Friends, which is often true, and sometimes it is allowable; but 'tis no great modesty to boast of it upon every occasion. Others do prefix to their Books, to give them credit, the name of some considerable person; this is well done, if the worth of the Piece be any wayes suitable to the qua-

lifications of that Perſon; elſe (to ſpeak in *Solomons* words) it will be as a Jewel of Gold in a Swines ſnout.

I hope, My Lord, I have at preſent in ſome meaſure hit upon that neceſſary proportion; Your Lordſhip is in every account one of the moſt Eminent Noblemen of the Kingdome, and my Subject (though I handle it with ſeveral defects and imperfections) is of potent Princes and Republicks, a hard task indeed it is; for when a private man is to ſpeak of the perſons and actions of Kings and Princes, ſpecially of ſo many as I have occaſion to mention, he walks upon the edge of Rocks and Precipices; for of one ſide Princes are jealous of their Authority, and the people of their Liberty; on the other, if he gives Monarchies ſuch Commendations as that manner of Government deſerves,

ſerves, he muſt be careful to ſay nothing to the diſparagement of Republicks: Every one of theſe Governments is good in it's kind, yet not in every Countrey, only as it ſutes the temper and conſtitution of the people; but I cannot forbear to ſay, that Monarchy hath of all Governments moſt conformity to the pattern of all, or to the Empire which God hath over the World.

'Tis not an eaſie matter to ſpeak of a ſubject which hath been treated of by ſeveral others, however there are different wayes to do it, and new obſervations may produce new Notions. Sometimes one hath occaſion to tell his opinion of things, and herein he is himſelf liable to the cenſure of thouſands of different judgement and affections; but as theſe things are unavoidable to thoſe who appear in publick, ſo they ought to

be resolved to undergo any thing of that kind: the approbation of such persons as your Lordship, is that which writers should mind most of all, and use their utmost care to obtain. 'Tis a known truth, and I declare it, My Lord, that your Natural parts, joyned to the experience you have gained by your travels, have fitted your Lordship to pass a judicious Sentence upon any thing that deserves it.

I say nothing in this Relation, but what your Lordship hath more accurately by far, & more exactly observed: You have been, My Lord, upon the places highly esteemed by some Princes who knew your worth and quality, and where to my own knowledge (if *I* may so say) you omitted nothing that might conduce to the improvement of your self, as a person who by vertue of your Birth, Parts and Merits, will find no imployment

ployment in your Countrey too high for you, when some occasion shall be offered for your *Prince* to do you that favour and justice; to the end, the Nation may have some benefit of that treasure of wisdome and Experience which is in you; and I in particular the satisfaction to see your Lordship as great as you deserve; which is the earnest desire of

My Lord,

Your Lordships

most Humble and

Devoted Servant,

Gailhard.

TO THE READER.

WOnderfull and much to be admired is the goodnesse and wisdome of God, in that various distribution he hath made of his favours to Nations and Countries, for the benefit of humane Society, that men seeing every where some tokens of his goodnesse, after a serious reflection on the same, they should reduce all to that ultimate end, which is to give him Glory and Praises for it: Non omnis fert omnia tellus, So that one Country lies under a kind of necessity of keeping correspondency with another, either for necessary or for delightfull things, if not for the being, yet for the well-being; for this end hath the Art

of Navigation been discovered, Trade (which makes Countries so flouriſhing) ſettled, and all manner of correſpondency kept between thoſe who live at a diſtance. I do not deny but that it is convenient to have things brought home to us out of Forreign parts, without taking any pains, or running any hazzard, yet to have things right, we muſt go to fetch them upon the places where they are produced; 'tis beſt to have things at the firſt hand, and to have pure water, we muſt go to the ſpring, if it can conveniently be done, for it looſes ſomething of it's worth, either through the defect of the Veſſell, or ſome other accident, if it be brought to us: We obſerve in Vegetables, if they be tranſplanted, after a while they degenerate, and looſe part of their Vertue, the climate and the ſoyle are not ſo ſutable to their nature as that wherein they grew; no Balm was ſo good as that which was in Gilead; that Vine-tree which in one place doth produce good Grapes, in another will yield nothing but wild Grapes. Experience alſo doth demonſtrate this in ſenſitive Creatures, horſes and dogs, when carried from their own climate, looſe their good

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qualities, at the furthest at the second or third breed. This holds in rational creatures; we know there are Nations which for the generality have quicker apprehension, and sharper wit than others, yet let a man remove from his Native Country, when he hath been any considerable while in another, his temper will be like that of those amongst whom he lives, imperceptibly such an alteration is wrought, so that he will grow dull and flegmatick if the climate bears it; this may be caused by a constant conversation with people of that constitution; by the very diet, for those aliments which are course, make gross and thick bloud, which doth not breed quick and lively spirits; and a man by the change of Air, will find a great alteration in himself; the breathing of a pure Air refreshes the Lungs, chears up the Heart, and upon a suddain inspires an inward joy, which can hardly be expressed: in this I speak after my own experience, I specially took notice of it when I came to Puzzuolo and Baya in Italy, neither was I alone to make that observation, which obliged me to think that there had been a particular reason of this nature, why some Ro-

Roman Emperours, and others of the greatest persons amongst them, took such a delight to be there. 'Twas in such places as this, and Tivoly, with the like, that Cicero, Virgil, and other eminent men for learning, composed the greatest part of those works which to this day we have amongst us.

That which I have said of low and Mechanicall things, will hold in those of a more noble and higher nature. What Merchants do for their profit, Gentlemen ought to do for their honour; the one brings riches into his Country, the other ought to bring good observations and maximes that may contribute to the good order and right Government of his Nation, if by his quality or abilities he comes to be called to have a share in it. The great Law givers in Greece, sent into several parts of the world those who gathered for them the quintessence of those Laws which other nations enjoyed. The Romans in the times of the Decemvirs did the same, and others have followed their example; 'tis true, one must be very judicious and skilful in the application of the same; for every Law doth not suite every Nation; but I say,

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that mutatis mutandis, *there is never a Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, but they may make an exchange of some of their Laws and Customes: Monarchy may afford Democracy some beneficial Statutes, so may well regulated Democracy to Monarchy; for all governments, by what name soever distinguished, have or ought to have, but one and the same end, which is self preservation first, and then the promoting of publick good, every one in his Station and calling, although these different governments use different means and waies to come to that end.*

Out of this I suppose 'twill appear to any rational man how necessary and beneficial travelling is to the compleating of a Gentleman, if it be well directed and improved; and as Nations are obliged to those Merchants, who through many and great hazzards do bring home the best of other Countries to inrich their own, certainly they must needs be much beholden to those Patriots, who have been at charges and pains to collect and bring them those wholesome counsels, by the right use of which they may secure themselves in the enjoyment of their plenty, riches and happi-

nesse,

pineſs, to the preventing of diſturbances which might happen to ariſe againſt it: It ought therefore to be the endeavours, as it is the duty, of every one to fit himſelf as much as he can for the ſervice of his King and Countrey.

I ſaid juſt now, how beneficial travelling is, if one hath good directions; this lays an engagement upon me to ſay ſomething to that effect for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who ſtay at home, and for the inſtruction of them who go abroad; not that I think my ſelf wiſe enough to adviſe others; only I ſay my naturall propenſity joyned to that manner of life I have led hitherto, hath much inclined me to travel into moſt parts of Europe, *wherein I have ſpent moſt of my time; but whether this hath fitted me to give my opinion upon this ſubject, I am not to be the judge: however I dare ſay 'tis difficult for a Gentleman, let him have never ſo good parts, to get any conſiderable benefit by his Travels upon his firſt going abroad, except he hath along with him the advice of one who knows Countries and faſhions; for the time allowed him to ſtay abroad is almoſt expired, before he can recover himſelf of*

the surpriz al and astonishment which daily difficulties and inconveniences have cast him into; but when he is to act according to advice, and this advice is grounded upon knowledge and experience, he will find his task more easie, more pleasant and more profitable. And here I must say something in general of those who undertake to be such directors, which may well be applyed to all sorts of persons.

God, whom men pray (or ought to pray) every day to give them their daily bread, hath commanded them to work for it, and he who doth not work, ought not to eat, as the Apostle saith. As the difference of faces, and the diversity of tempers in men do express the wisdome of God, so doth that variety of employments which he calls them to, according to their genius, inclination and abilities in some measure to perform their undertakings: Let every one abide in that wherevnto he is called, saith St. Paul.; so that men ought to follow it after they have imbraced it, either out of choice or by necessity, especially if besides the benefit they reap by it, they are any wayes usefull to others. knowing we are born not so much for our selves, as for o-

thers;

thers; and though a constant kind of employment be necessary for one, yet this doth not exclude the use of that capacity he may have to several sorts of calling, it being well for those who have many strings to their bow, that if one breaks the other may be useful. Men must ever be doing something, if it were for nothing else but to keep themselves from Idleness, which is the Mother of Vice.

But to come to that kind of Employment which gives occasion to this discourse, 'tis usually attended with great and many difficulties, besides the hazzards which one runs in forreign Countries; for if dangers come often to men when they are at home, what will it be when they go as it were to meet with them, when almost every day they see men of all Nations, and of all sorts of tempers: certainly one must very much exercise his prudence in avoiding the perils he meets withall, and must have much courage to come off when they be unavoidable, but above all, an extraordinary protecting providence of God is absolutely necessary: Yet there are more uncomfortable difficulties to struggle withal, than are the fore-

expressed

expressed. The extravagancy of a young man, who will not be advised by a Governour, nor ruled by a Father; this Governour is to please a Father who loves to spare, and a Son who delights to spend, a Father who would have him to learn and improve himself, and a Son who in his travels hath no other end but to take his pleasures, and after he hath fenced a long while against the wild nature, the vicious inclination and unreasonableness of a Son, he is also exposed to the hardness and unthankfulness of Parents.

I have wondred at many who take this charge upon themselves, and consider not whether they be qualified for it, when no honest man will undertake any thing, except he knows himself in some measure able to perform it: 'Tis enough for them to know they shall thereby get a competent allowance, to run headlong upon any employment that lies in their way; how can they expect in conscience or reason, that a young Gentleman can improve under their conduct, that his relations can have any satisfaction, or themselves get thereby any credit or reputation, if they have no capacity somewhat suitable to their undertakings? for how can such a one,

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be able to direct another how to benefit himself? and to travel in forreign parts, except he hath some knowledge of the language of the countrey, and fashions? Every Nation hath some particular Vices and Virtues, the one to be avoided, and the other learned; what these things are I must be told, and how can he that knows it not tell me of it? this ignorance will make him contemptible to me, and he must learn it himselfe before he can teach it me; so that for the whole time allowed to travel, he is onely a learner who should have been a Teacher. I am a bashful English man, I will learn confidence, and a handsome carriage in France, *so riding the Great Horse, Fencing, Dancing, and other bodily Exercises which contribute to compleat a Gentleman, thence if I pass into* Italy, *that Air will fix the* French *Quick-silver, there I will learn Sobriety, Frugality, and to be circumspect in words and actions, so Musick, Picture-drawing, Architecture,* &c. *Yet I must have some knowledge of persons and places, of whom and where these things may be learned best of all; I must know also how to benefit my self in going by, or staying at a place. 'Tis*

not

not enough for a Gentleman to say, in such a City there is a stately Church, a fine Palace, and the ruines of a most antient Amphitheater; this I confess ought to be taken notice of: but further, I must observe the quality of the Climate, and of the soyle, the Situation of the Countrey, and (if I understand Fortifications) the strength and the weakness of the Cities and Countries I go through, and take notice of the advantage or disadvantage of Rivers, Ways, and Grounds; so I must be acquainted with their Manners, Forces, Riches, and wherein they consist, to see whether any thing out of it may be useful to my Countrey; but above all I must observe their Government, and if it be possible their mysteries of State, so I must endeavour to know the persons and qualifications of Princes and Ministers of State, and any thing else that may be both for my own benefit, and the service of my Countrey; so at length my travels having ripened my judgement, quickned my apprehension, and sharpned my wit, I shall not be unprofitable, nor of the number of those the Poet speaks of,

Nos numerus sumus fruges consumere nati.

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This I do insist upon, not to boast of any abilities of my own, for I ingeniously confess my weakness in this, yet I profess a desire to learn it, though it was for no other end than to impart it to others, that with me they may reap some benefit of it; this I say still, that another cannot teach me that which he knows not, but his knowledge, experience and practice of any thing enables him to infuse it into me; and indeed 'tis a fault I have accidently observed in some when they be in a strange Countrey, they keep company with none but the masters of their exercises, they ought indeed constantly to follow these exercises, but if they see no body else, at last they will learn to dance, to fence, &c. and nothing else; they ought to make acquaintance with men of quality, and frequent their company; of them a handsome carriage and good fashions are to be learned, they must also take care to finde themselves company for their honest pleasures, and lawful recreations; but a hateful thing it is to see one brought up in a timorous and pendantical way, which makes a Gentleman unfit for any thing of concernment; a Gentleman must be taught as to

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do no wrong, so to suffer no wrong as long as his honour is concerned in it, for he is not worthy to live who prefers his life to his honour; not that imaginary honour as 'tis conceived in these dayes, but that honour which is really so, not contrary to our duty to God, or obedience to Superiours; therefore a great wisdome is required in the use of a bridle or of a spur to work upon youth, to infuse courage into them, so as not to make them rash, and so to curb them, as not to dishearten them.

But I am carried further than I intended upon this subject, 'tis time to speak directly to my present design; I give thee Reader, the present state of the Princes, and Republicks of Italy: 'Tis a worthy subject, if we consider their number, jealousies, and policy; 'tis certainly one of the most politick Nations of the world, and I doubt very much whether any other can compare to it. What I express is gotten not so much by reading, as by travelling upon the places, seeing and conversing for a competent time with those who were able to instruct me: some things also are of my own particular observation. In the following discourse, I do not speak of

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the Scituation, or of the boot-like shape of Italy, which any ordinary Mappe can shew; to mention the quality of the Climate, or of the soyle of every part of that Garden of Europe, 'twould prove tedious, and contrary to the narrow bounds I doe here prescribe my self. The manners of the Inhabitants, their outward form of Government, their Riches, Force and Religion, are matters for Historians; hence it is that I do not insist upon Descriptions, however that which I thought fit to be known upon the matter in hand I express; I think (I know not whether I am mistaken) that the variety I use in it will please thee, for in some parts I insist upon the person of the Prince, in others upon the manners of the Inhabitants, and in some others I briefly mention what is particular in their Government; so that I have not a constant or affected method; contrariwise I endeavour some time to conceal it: Upon every particular, I speak, either that onely which I thought necessary to be known, and so I passed by some things I could have told, or I speak according to the degree of knowledge I

had

had of the thing; and if amongst a thousand things unprofitable, there be but one useful, I will not grudge my time nor my pains.

J. G.

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ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

THE Present STATE OF ITALY.

THAT must needs be a Rare Countrey which is pleasant and plentiful, watered with many Rivers; at the season adorned with Corn in the fields, and Grass in the Meddows, with delightful Land-skips, that in most parts hath a wholesome Air, that abounds in strong and stately Cities, where the eye is delighted with most sumptuous buildings, recreated with variety of Pictures and Statues, the ear pleased with as great a variety of harmonious musick as can be upon earth; where

the Palate is satisfied with the best fruits, and other delitacies, and the rarest Wines of *Europe*; where in a certain season, the nose enjoys the sweet smell of *Orange* and *Jasmin* flowers, which lay over head or under feet; and at the same time, and in the same place to behold fine perspectives, and hear the murmur of several fountain waters: in a word, that Countrey which produces plenty, and variety to please all the Senses, and which hath the *Alpes* of one side for Walls, and the Sea on the other for bounds, must needs be an excellent Country; such is *Italy*.

The length of it, is a Thousand miles, or thereabouts; beginning from *Susa*, a Town cited at the foot of the *Alpes*, at the coming into *Piemont*, and ending at *Reggio*, in the furthest parts of *Calabre*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. As to the breadth, 'tis more or less, according to the places, it being not full four hundred any where, nor less than sixteen. Parts of *France* and *Savoy* lay on the *West* of it, parts of *Germany*, namely, *Tyrol* and *Swisserland* on the *North*, and the *Mediteranian* Sea on the *East* and *South*, though for distinction, some call the one

Jonian, and *Adriatick*; and the other *Tirrenean*: most passages into *Italy*, are hard and difficult.

The whole Country which we call *Italy*, is, by the *Italians* themselves, divided into *Italy*, the Kingdom, and *Lombardy*. *Italy* comprehends the dominions of the Pope, of the grand Duke, and of *Lucca*. *Naples* is that which they call the Kingdom, and *Lombardy* contains great part of the State of *Venice*, the Dukedoms of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Parma*, *Monferrat*, *Piemont*, and the State of *Genoa*.

But to make use of the ancient Division, and to descend to particulars; I say, that in *Italy* some are great Princes, considering the Extend of their Dominions; and others of an inferiour Orb, may be called petty Princes: The former sort come to the number of seven, and with the four Republicks, to eleven. The *Pope*, King of *Spain*, Dukes of *Savoy*, *Tuscany*, *Mantoa*, *Parma*, *Modena*; for though some do reckon the Bishop of *Trent*, which stands between the *Venetians* and *Tyrol*, yet being a Prince of the Empire, having a perpetual alliance with the House of *Austria*, and often of the same Family, He may

be taken for a *German* more than for an *Italian* Prince; and seeing little can be said concerning him, we shall pass it by to come to the Republicks; which are *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Luca*, and *San Marino*: For the order of precedency, *Venice* hath place after *Spain*, *Genoa* after *Tuscany*, though they pretend to be used as Crowned heads, being Masters of *Corcica*, formerly a Kingdom; the other two Republicks take place after all the forenamed Princes, who also do not agree amongst themselves about Precedency; *Tuscany* pretends it from *Savoy*, though he be much inferiour in antiquity, and extent of Dominions; and *Mantoa* from *Tuscany*, neither will *Modena* yield it to some named before him. I should also say, that *France* having acquired *Pignerolo*, a door into *Italy*, and a strong place, from the Duke of *Savoy*, that King having an Interest in *Italy*, is to be reckoned amongst the Princes of it.

The State of Rome.

THE *Pope* hath great Dominions conveniently ſeated to diſturb others, ſpecially, *Naples*; for all from *Oſtia*, upon the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, to *Loretto*, *Ancona*, *&c.* is his: All the Lands together are called, *Lo Stato Della Chieſa*, in particular, old *Latium*, now *Campagna Romana*, *il Patrimonio di San Pietro*, of which the chief City is *Viterbo*, part of ancient *Tuſcany*, *Terra Sabina*, *Umbria*, *ducato di ſpoletto*, *la Marca di Ancona*, *la Romagna*, *il ducato di Urbino*, *ducato di ferrara*, *Perugia*, *Orvieto*, and *Bologneſe*; he is Soveraign of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, which he gives the inveſtiture of, and receives homage for, as he doth for the Dukedoms of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, pretending the ſame over the Iſlands of *Sardegna* and *Corſica*; He is in poſſeſſion of the Dukedom and City of *Benevento* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and he pretends that in time of *minority* of the Kings of *Spain*, he hath right to Govern that Kingdom by a Legat: He alſo enjoyes the County of *Avignon* in *France*, and Ce-

neda within the state of *Venice*.

These Countries, (I mean those who are united together) especially from *Ancona* to *Ravenna* and *Ferrara* all along the Coasts of the Gulfe of *Venice*, do afford good Souldiers, which upon case of an urging necessity may be gathered to about the number of 60000, though 20000 foot and 3000 horse, as had *Clement* the 8th. in the War of *Ferrara*, were much to be kept on foot any long while: *Urban* the 8th. in the War of *Parma* had 30000, but if the whole Countrey was in Armes, then 'twould be upon 400000. The Pope indeed may be accounted, as he is really, a strong Prince, which strength consists in the extent of his Territories, in their Situation, being all united, and there being no safe nor convenient places towards the *Mediterranean*, to make any landing; and towards the *Gulf* they trust to the *Venetians*, who are to keep it clear; upon which condition they are acknowledged to be the Lords of these Seas; further all along the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, and the whole *Campagna Romana*, there is a bad air, which would soon work upon any Army, either in Spring, Summer,

Summer, or Autumn: This strength further consists in the temper of his Subjects and Soldiers, who are esteemed to be the best Foot in *Italy*: The *Italian* Proverb calls them, *The best of Soldiers*, but *the worst of Subjects*: so this strength consists in his strong holds, as *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, *Fortezza Urbana*, &c. in his Arsenals, or Magazeens of Arms; the *Vatican* or St. *Peter* hath for 5000 men, in the Castle St. *Angelo* for 15000, in *Ancona* for 10000, in *Ravenna* for 5000, in *Ferrara* 25000, and *Bologna* for 10000, and a new one a making at *Tivoly*, by the late *Don Mario's* Order, for 16000 men, with 80. pieces of Ordnance, where he employed continually above 300 men, so that they are spread up and down the Countrey to arme the People upon occasion to the number of 100000 men. Upon the *Mediterranean* he keeps five Gallies, which harbour in *Civita Vecchia*, they are not handsome, nor very good, but are well maned.

But that which another way strengthens much the *Pope*, is, that Respect and Devotion which Popish Princes and States bear him, acknowledging him (though falsly)

falsly) to be the Vicary of Christ, God on Earth, and the head of their Religion; so that if a Prince had seized upon any of his Dominions, the *Pope* who had provoked him to make War being dead, it would be restored to the new Elected, all of them being perswaded, that it were a Sacriledge, to detain from that Church, that which did belong to it; besides that every Prince of that Religion intending any such thing, would find it to be a hard work; for the *Pope* hath ever an Army quartered upon their Land, which are that vast number of Secular Priests, and Regular Friars, who depend on the *Pope* upon several accounts, who having all sworn an Obedience to their Generals, who usually kept at *Rome*, they would act according to the Orders sent them from thence. So that having their Pulpits, Confessions, and Introduction into houses of all ranks, they could make strange worke; Hence to me doth appear the happiness of those Princes, who having shaken off that *Roman* yoke, and turned out those Emissaries, are freed of those dangers, which those of that Religion are exposed to, though often they are liable to their pri-

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vate attempts. Another politick ſtrength of *Popes*, conſiſts in the Colledge of Cardinals, who are moſt of them choſen, either to gratifie Princes, or who depend upon Princes, (without whoſe knowledge Princes hardly reſolve any thing of importance about *Popes*) or elſe are Relations to Princes; and it is certain, when theſe Princes intereſts come to be in competition with the *Pope*'s and Churches, this laſt ſwayes with them above all, becauſe every one of theſe Cardinals is not without hope of being choſen *Pope* one time or other. Now I ſay, that *Popes*, as they are Temporal Princes, though they be Elective, ought to have that reſpect which deſerveth the character which God hath ſet upon the forehead of Soveraigns; but as he is a Tyrant over the Church, and an Uſurper over the Heritage of the Lord, all good Chriſtians and reaſonable men ought to abhor him, not his perſon, but that Tyranny, Uſurpation, and unlawful Actions of his.

I ſaid, that 25000 or 30000 men, is a great number to be kept on foot by *Popes* any long while; not for want of monies, for as *Sixtus Quartus* uſed to ſay, The

Church can never want money in her purse, as long as the Pope doth hold a pen in his hand. Indeed, besides the ordinary income to the *Camera*, for the occasions of the Church (so they call that State) the Office of the *Diataria*, brings to *Popes* for their own use, exceeding great Treasures out of all parts, which own his Religion; besides the private wayes they have to get monies, of which I shall speak; some reckon that *Popes* have 6000*l.* sterling a day, besides the casual incomes, which are very great: every time a *Legat a Latere* is sent abroad, he is allowed 250*l.* sterling a day: for proof of this vast Revenues, *Sixtus* the 5*th*, who Reigned but five years of a poor Countrey Family *Peretti*, yet he builded the Palace of St. *John* of *Lateran*, began that of *Monte-Cavallo*, fortified *Civita Vecchia*, built many Colledges, made chargeable Aqueducts; did many other costly works and reparations, wherein 'tis thought he spent a matter of 15 Millions of Crowns, or upon 4 Millions of *English* pounds, and left five Millions of Crowns in the Castle of St. *Angelo*, and did not charge his people with heavy Taxes; and then the *Popes* had not the

the Dukedom of *Urbino*, nor that of *Ferrara*, and in a time that Reformation was carried on in a great measure in these three Kingdoms, *France*, *Holland*, *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and other parts of the *North*. And *Paul* the 5*th*. who indeed Reigned longer, left to the Prince of *Salmona*, one of his Nephews, 1000 Crowns a day, besides what he gave to several others of his Relations. And *Gregory* the 15*th*. of the *family* of *Ludovisio*, reigned only one year and a 11 moneths, and left to his Family 250000 crowns a year, or 62000 and 500*l*. besides. Thus as *Popes* are temporal Princes, so they lay Taxes upon their Subjects, and heavy ones too. The late *Popes*, since his falling out with *France*, within the space of two years, laid Gables or Taxes upon 16 sorts of Commodities, which were free before: So 'twas done upon the Soldiers, kept within the State, for every common Soldier was Taxed one Crown of his yearly pay, which came to between 5 and 6000 crowns, according to their number; and the whole people in the City and Country were exceedingly oppressed: The selling of Offices is now a

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setled custom in the Court of *Rome*, which is very beneficial to *Popes*: I shall give but an instance of the *Camera Apostolica*, or the Apostolick Chamber; the places of the *Treasurer General*, and of the *Auditor*, are sold for 80000 crowns a piece. There are Twelve places of *Chierici*, Clarks worth 42000 a piece; the Presidents is 90000, and so of others: the two forenamed Offices are the next step to the Cardinal; so that if the *Pope* will have 160000 Crowns he makes Cardinals those who have them, and from others he finds ready money for the places. And what shall we say to that vast Treasure of *Loretto*, which is inesteemable: every week, nay, almost every day, one gift or other is brought to it from Kings, Queens, Princes, and other great Persons, Cities, and particular men; they have whole Chambers full of Gold and Silver plate; but this is nothing to that vast number of Diamonds, and other precious stones, which they keep in a place made a purpose: in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, are ever 5 millions of Gold, and one and a half in Jewels.

Were it not for want of exercise of the Protestant Religion, *Rome* is as fit a place

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to lead a quiet and a contented life, as any is in the world, a man may live there as he pleases; and no body meddle with him; offend no body, and no body will offend you; and though the inquisition be there, strangers are not troubled with it, except they speak against their Religion, which it were a great imprudence to do; 'twere a madness for a man to go tell the *Pope* he is Antichrist, this were to tempt God, and contrary to the wisdom of the Serpent, which is commanded us. 'Tis an old and common saying;

Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more, &c.

A stranger and a Traveller must be all eyes, and all ears, but hardly any tongue at all, he must hear, he must see, and hold his peace. I say, at *Rome* there is a very great liberty; if a Protestant pleases, all Lent he may eat flesh, by the means of a License, which he may get for two shillings; You are not obliged to go to Mass, to Confession, nor to any of their Superstitious wayes. One thing there is, which a stranger may do to satisfie his curiosity, which is, to go to their *Stationi*, as they call it, that is, their Devotions to certain Churches

ches, which happens in one or other every week, where is a great concourse of people of all sorts, and constantly excellent good musick; so every Saturday at the *Cardinal Padrone's*, the *Popes* Nephew, lodging at *Monte-Cavallo*, all men of good fashion use to meet, to tell and hear news; so one day or other in the week, people use to meet at the Pallace of the *Preferto* of the Church, which is either the *Popes* Brother or Nephew. So at *Monte-Cavallo*, the *Popes* Palace; when the Consistory of Cardinals is kept. So one may have the company one time or other of their Academists or Virtuosi, which in *Rome* are of three sorts, *Humoristi*, *Lincei*, *Fantastici*.

One thing more is, to follow the *Corteggio* of some Cardinal and Ambassadour first for Protection; for if any mischance should befall a man, when 'tis known such a Gentleman is of the *Corteggio* of such a Cardinal, he is respected, and no harm done to him without the leave of such a Protecture, into whose house one may fly for sanctuary. Secondly, going with them (after the warning you have of it at your lodging) when they receive or make visits, or go to their audience,

dience, one may see their formalities and Ceremonies which are very great; they never visit one another but they send before, one to know whether such a one be disposed to receive the visit of another at such an hour, and as *Italians*, give high names to things; they call this Ambassage. Further, they receive not at the same time visits from two persons; it must be known also, whether such a person intends to come *Incognito*, or whether he will be known, which only consists in the putting on or off of a superfluous garment, and the Loops which are about the Horses heads, which are of gold, if the Cardinal be a Prince, a *Roman* Baron, or of the Family of a Duke and Peer of *France*, or other Kingdoms; so that according as they come, they are received nearer the Stairs, and with more Ceremonies, for every step they are to make is regulated, and they would not go an inch further; so that all that passes between them, is more *belle parole* then realities; I say, *belle parole*, not onely because they be Complements, but also they are accurate expressions, well pronounced, according to their proverb, *Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*.

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One thing I must needs observe of their civility to strangers who are of their own *Corteggio*, that although they know them to be Protestants, yet they never trouble them with any discourse of Religion. 'Tis certain, that this Court is as politick as any in the world, and where by a reflection you may know all what passes in *Europe*: for no Prince in the world hath better intelligencies then the *Pope*, who hath Legates or Nuncio's in most Courts, and spies every where. Cardinals do receive their Letters from the Courts of the Princes whose interests they own; and the general of every Regular Order being usually at *Rome*, and receiving a constant weekly intelligence out of all those parts where are any of his Order; and sometimes from the Confessors to Kings, Queens, and other high persons, do signifie what things they hear, to the *Pope*. One may judge of this by what they do at home; that which is to be admired at *Rome*, is that exceeding great number of spies under pay, which are there up and down in all houses, publick places, and at every corner, the *Pope* hath his; every Cardinal, and Princes (I put them

them before, for they take place of them) have theirs; one Cardinal and Prince will have his ſpie in the houſe of another, though ſome of them go like gentlemen of good faſhion; and others who are of a higher form keep their Coaches; ſome of them have keys to come in at any hour by the back door to the perſons whoſe ſpies they are. Some as *Staffieri*, or Footmen, ſerve ſtrangers; others are Maſters of Excercíſes, nay, ſeveral *Cortegiane* or Proſtitute women are under pay; ſo that by theſe means, no particular buſineſs comes to paſs, but 'tis preſently known. One day I had occaſion to enquire for a mean perſon about an ordinary buſineſs, very far from my lodging, and from that of a third perſon concerned in't, in a corner of a ſtreet, one that was with me inquiring for ſuch a one, in came to us an unknown man, who ſtood by, I admired to hear him ſay, what, you look for him about ſuch a thing, he is gone to ſuch a place: Every one of their great men who know this cuſtome, do ſuſpect every new ſervant they take. I have been told by a perſon who ſtood by, that the late *Duke Cezarini*, ſent one day for a *Notaro* (or

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one of those Scriveners, who kept the List of some spies) whom he trusted, and having shewed him the names of all his Domesticks, how doth it go said he? the other answered, well; then said he, 'tis a wonder, I am here the only man; this Language is obscure, but he who stood by, knew the meaning of it. As to strangers, none come to *Rome*, but 'tis presently known who it is, whence he comes, what company he frequents, and the like. Not long since I hapned to be at *Rome*, at the same time that there was a considerable number of *English-men*; the late *Pope* told an *English* Priest, and an *English* Gentleman, who being a Papist, went thither for Devotion sake, *That he wondered, that some of the English men that were then in town, did not come to his Palace upon the dayes he gave Audience, though it was but for curiosity*; but said he, *I know they are so taken up to drink, that they have no time to spare*: He was well informed, yet this did not proceed from any contempt he had for the Nation; contrariwise he used to speak with respect of *England*, calling it the *Land of Wonders*: though this may be ambiguous, yet I believe he took it in a

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good sence, and he hath expressed the desire he had to have come to see it when he was Nuncio in *Germany*, if he could have done it with safety.

In *Rome* are to be seen several ancient and modern Curiosities; there are particular guides for antiquities, the modern do consist in Churches, Palaces, Houses of Pleasure, called *Villa*, where you may see the utmost of Art in Architecture, Pictures, Statues, Gardens, Water-works; so there are Libraries, as that of the *Vatican*, enriched with a number of Excellent Books, and rare Manuscripts in several tongues, and increased with the ruines of that of *Heidelberg*, and with that of *Urbina*: this Library can be compared to none but that of *Oxford*, yet with some difference: there are also private Libraries and Cabinets, of all which as of the curiosities of *Tivoly* and *Frescati*, places 12. and 18. miles from the City, there are exact relations in their Language, so that it were needless for me to name or to describe any.

Therefore I come to speak how *Popes* stand affected to their Neighbours; some grounds of this might have been laid formerly,

merly, when the Apostolick Chamber had the direction of affairs: but since *Popes* are come to be so absolute, that the Chamber must do almost all what they please, now their interest, natural inclination, fancy or Capricio, as they call it; and sometimes the suggestions of a Kinsman and favourite, such as was *Don Mario*, though 'twas a woman, as *Don Olympia*, are the rule of it. Some *Popes* have had fallings out with the *Venetians*, as had *Paul* the 5*th*. concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and other things; *Clement* the 8*th*. with the Dukes of *Modena* about *Ferrara*; *Urban* the 8*th*. with the Duke of *Parma* about *Castro*; and so of late Cardinal *Franciotti*, Bishop of *Luca*, was like to be the occasion of a great falling out between the *Pope* and that *Republick*. *Urban* the 8*th*. was a great friend to *France*, but not to *Spain*, nor to the *Grand Duke*. *Innocent* the 10*th*. the half of his Reign was for *Spain*, and then he turned to the *French*; and the late *Alexander* 7*th*. was all along an enemy to *France*, chiefly upon the account of *Mazarini*, whom he hated with all his heart; but the present *Pope* carries himself even between all, although

though before his Election he were ſuſpected to be partial for *Spain*, but upon no ſollid grounds; for thoſe who pretend to the *Popedome* ſtand neutrals, and declare themſelves of no party

The maximes of *Pope's* are different, according to their intereſt and temper; ſo that this being an Elective Dignity, no general rule but this can be given, that all endeavour to raiſe their Families to Honour and Riches; however their *Raggioni di Stato* are, to hinder *Naples* from falling into the Emperours hands: for *Clement* the *7th.* made penance for the fault which *Leon* the *10th.* had committed to favour *Charles* the *5th.* A ſecond maxime is, ſtill to give hopes of being promoted, to the dignity of a Cardinal to thoſe potent Prelates that are at *Rome*, and elſewhere, to keep them in dependency, and from diſcontents and diſturbances. Another is to confine the number of Cardinals to 70. which was an invention of *Sixtus Quintus*, to avoid the importunities of ſeveral Princes, who ſolicited him to confer that dignity upon ſome whom he would not bring into the Colledge. Of the ſame nature as this is, another

Arcano

Arcano di State, concerning the Examen of Bishops, which was ordered by *Clement* the 8*th*. to stop the designes of Princes, who intended to promote to Prelacy many of their Creatures: for then they had been ashamed to present those who had no learning, nor other qualifications fit for the place. A further secret of state is, that of the *Bull* of Residency, whereby Bishops are obliged to reside in their Bishopricks; by the means of this, *Popes* do remove from their Court those Cardinals and others whom they dislike: By these means *Urban* the 8*th*. kept out of *Rome* Cardinal *Borgia*, and others of the *Spanish Faction*, who spoke too boldly to him: So did *Alexander* the 7*th*. keep away Cardinal *Rossetti*, who stifly opposed his Election. A further maxime of theirs is, to refer to Congregations, the demands of Princes about Ecclesiastical Laws, Jurisdiction, and other things which *Popes* are not willing to grant, for so they lay the denial upon others. Another *Raggioni di State*, is, that Cardinals may not go out of the state of the Church without leave from the *Pope*, for so they prevent those Counsels and Assemblies before the

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which formerly they have at ſeveral times been ſummoned to appear. Further, as former *Popes* have humbled and brought down thoſe noble and potent Families that were in *Rome*, which had given a great deal of trouble to their Predeceſſors; ſo at preſent *Popes* keep them low; by which means, they have ſo degenerated, that inſtead of thoſe great and brave Captains, now out of theſe Families come out idle, vicious, and effeminate perſons. Laſtly, 'tis a very politick maxime of *Popes*, to ſend their Legate to Princes, to pacifie the quarrels ariſing between them, although they know 'twill effect nothing at all; and that ſometimes 'tis their intereſt that ſuch quarrels ſhould laſt, for hereby they ſhew themſelves to be zealous of the publick good and peace; and thus they maintain themſelves the Arbiters of Princes. The Cardinals Nephews have alſo their particular maximes, namely to keep from preferment, and to remove from the *Pope*'s perſon thoſe whom they do not affect: on the contrary, to raiſe to dignities, and to procure places of truſt to their friends and creatures. Publick Miniſters at that Court know ſo well

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Arcano di State, concerning the Examen of Bishops, which was ordered by *Clement* the 8*th*. to stop the designes of Princes, who intended to promote to Prelacy many of their Creatures: for then they had been ashamed to present those who had no learning, nor other qualifications fit for the place. A further secret of state is, that of the *Bull* of Residency, whereby Bishops are obliged to reside in their Bishopricks; by the means of this, *Popes* do remove from their Court those Cardinals and others whom they dislike: By these means *Urban* the 8*th*. kept out of *Rome* Cardinal *Borgia*, and others of the *Spanish Faction*, who spoke too boldly to him: So did *Alexander* the 7*th*. keep away Cardinal *Rossetti*, who stifly opposed his Election. A further maxime of theirs is, to refer to Congregations, the demands of Princes about Ecclesiastical Laws, Jurisdiction, and other things which *Popes* are not willing to grant, for so they lay the denial upon others. Another *Raggioni di State*, is, that Cardinals may not go out of the state of the Church without leave from the *Pope*, for so they prevent those Counsels and Assemblies before the

which

which formerly they have at several times been summoned to appear. Further, as former *Popes* have humbled and brought down those noble and potent Families that were in *Rome*, which had given a great deal of trouble to their Predecessors; so at present *Popes* keep them low; by which means, they have so degenerated, that instead of those great and brave Captains, now out of these Families come out idle, vicious, and effeminate persons. Lastly, 'tis a very politick maxime of *Popes*, to send their Legate to Princes, to pacifie the quarrels arising between them, although they know 'twill effect nothing at all; and that sometimes 'tis their interest that such quarrels should last, for hereby they shew themselves to be zealous of the publick good and peace; and thus they maintain themselves the Arbiters of Princes. The Cardinals Nephews have also their particular maximes, namely to keep from preferment, and to remove from the *Pope*'s person those whom they do not affect: on the contrary, to raise to dignities, and to procure places of trust to their friends and creatures. Publick Ministers at that Court know so well

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the jealousie of Nephews, who will have nothing communicated to *Popes*, but by their means, that usually they impart first to them, that which they are to speak of to the *Pope*, and commonly they give them an account of what answer they had, taking *Cardinal Padrons* lodging from the *Popes* in their way homewards. A policy of the Cardinals, who are contrary to the Court, is to get some Eminent one disaffected as they are, to be their Head; and now 'tis a custome passed as it were into a Law, to choose none but *Italians* to be *Popes*.

Before the late Election, the Colledge of Cardinals was divided into the *Ghigian* party, which were all the creatures or friends of *Alexander* the *7th*. six of them are of *Siena*, the City he was born in, the *Squadra volante*, the flying Squadron composed of the creatures of *Innocent* the *10th* who having left no Cardinal of his Name or Family, *Cardinal Imperiale* was look't upon as the Head of them, and most part of these were brought in to this present *Pope* by *Azzolino*, one of their chief members; but the *3d*. party was that of *Barbirini Francesco* the Dean of the Colledge

ledge being the head, and several of *Urbans* Creatures the members with some others, who being poor, received pensions from *Francesco*; now a fourth part is rising, which is that of the present *Pope*.

Before I leave this subject, I must say something of him; He is called *Clemens* the *9th.* which name he took, as he assured the Princess of *Rossano*, out of respect he doth bear to the memory of *Clement* the *8th.* *Aldobrandin*; his name is *Giulio Rospigliosi* of *Pistoia*, an indifferent good City, about 20 miles from *Florence*, and in the *Grand Dukes* Dominions. This man was chosen the last year, in the 71. of his Age; he was employed as *Nuncio* in *Spain*, and then by the late *Pope* was chosen Secretary of State; he had a very sore fit of sickness a little while afore the *Pope* died; he was once given over by Physicians, and when he came to recover, and before the *Popes* death, he had thoughts to leave his place. He is a man of a middle stature, and very gray; being a Cardinal, he was accounted a wise Statesman, and of great parts; I say he was, for I cannot tell whether he doth or will continue so, for often have we seen in that

place that *Honours have changed manners*; as it was well observed of the late *Pope Alexander*, of whom it was said, as of *Galba*, He had been worthy of Reigning, if he had not Reigned; *Dignus Imperio, si non imperasset*; and of all other sayings, this most of all was fastned upon him; he was *maximus in minimis*, and *minimus in maximis*.

This *Pope*, since his Election to that Dignity, hath made a judicious Creation of Cardinals; he hath chosen his own Nephew to express his affection to him; the late *Pope's* Nephew, *Don Sigismond*, to express his thankfulness for the Obligations he had to that Family; and herein he hath given an example contrary to that so much blamed of *Innocent* the 10th. who did so bitterly persecute the Relations of his Predecessor. The third Cardinal Created, is *Leopold*, of the family *Medici*: Thus he hath repaired the fault of *Alexander*, acknowledged the kindness he received from the *Grand Duke* in the late conclave, and shews that he remembers he hath been his Subject: Further, this *Pope* hath done two things contrary to the practices of his Predecessor, who

who, at the beginning, would own none of his Relations, nor have them about his person, or raise them to preferments, till he seemed to be forced to it by the earnest solicitations, and constant importunities of Cardinals, and publick Ministers; yet it is well known how indulgent to them he hath been all along; therefore, said the *Romans*, *Alexander* was as good as his word, that he would not receive his Relations at *Rome*, for he went to do it at *Castle Gandolfo*, a house of pleasure 12. miles from it: but the present *Pope* sent for his immediately after his Election, and would make no new Creation (as they call it) of Cardinals, nor distribute several favours till his Nephew was come back to *Rome*, that others might have to him the Obligation of it: The other thing he hath done is, that he hath suppressed in part those heavy Taxes which his Predecessour, or *Don Mario*, hath laid on the people; this hath much gotten him the love of his Subjects. Should I now go about to give a character of *Don Camillo* his Brother, his Nephews, and other Relations, it would be too much like a relation, therefore I forbear it; and indeed

I have been so long upon this particular, that I must be shorter in what follows.

In *Rome* are still some Noble and Ancient Families, as *Colonna*, which do possess three Principalities, *Ursini* hath two more. *Savelli*, whereof the chief is perpetual Marshal of the Church, and Prince of *La Rizza*, bought by the late *Pope*, and of *Albano*. *Muti*, Duke of that name, and Prince of *Rignano*, *Cezarini*, Prince of *Fansano* and *Ardea*. *Conti*, of which is the present Duke *Pauli*. *Caetanis* of which is the Prince of *Caserta*, Son to the Duke of *Sermonetta*. *Frangipani*, which is extinct, for the late Marquess left out one Daughter, who hath been married to one of the name, who lives in *Hungary*. The others are *Bentivogli*, *Baglioni*, *Peppuli*, *Vitelli*, *&c.*

The new Families, to begin with that which now Rules, are, *Rospiglioси*, *Ghigi*, *Panfilio*, *Barberini*, *Ludovisio*, *Borgheſe*, *Altemps*, *Cezi*, *Farneze*, *Aldobrandini*, *Buoncompagnio*, *&c.* raised by Popes of their family, as now *Rospiglioси* of *Clement* the 9th. *Ghigi* of *Alexander* the 7th. *&c.* *Matthei* also, and *Lanti* both Dukes in *Rome*, are both of good Families.

But

But now *Clement* the 9*th*. is dead, after somewhat above two years Reign; he was old and weak, but the loss of *Candia*, hath probably hastened his death: his Relations had no time to rise very high, and they must leave the place to his kinsman, who is now to be chosen *Pope*: about whose Election the Conclave is now much divided; the Factions being great and stiff, every one driving on her Interest and advantage. The Cardinals amongst themselves being divided into four parties, because they are all the creatures of so many *Popes*, *Urban* the 8*th*. *Innocent* the 10*th*. *Alexander* the 7*th*. and *Clement* the 9*th*. besides the *Grand Dukes* Interest is great in the Conclave: the *Spanish* is considerable in number, by reason of many of his Subjects in't; but as Cardinals mind themselves more than the Crowns; and as *Spain* is not mony'd, very probably many will fall off: on the other side, the *French* having some of the best head-pieces in the Conclave, and ready monys, will go very far; and because the last time they were disappointed, and could not raise *Farnese* to the *Popedome*, they will strive very hard for it.

The Emperour, and King of *Poland* have also their Parties among the Cardinals, but not considerable in themselves, only they may joyn with others. These Princes, as the *French and Spanish* Crowns Interests, are managed by those Cardinals who are their Protectors, and the Ambassadours who are at *Rome:* of late the Crown of *Portugal* is also come in.

There are also those Cardinals called Neutrals, of those, who pretending to the *Popedome*, declare themselves (at least, not openly) for no party.

Cardinals first of all were called *Roman Priests*, sent by *Popes*, to Preach and do other offices in the Churches, who owned their Authorities: There were but six upon their first Institution. *Calpurnius Poncinus*, in the year 231. raised their number to 10, so by degrees they were 70. but as *Popes* may alter the orders of their Predecessors, so they have lessened, or increased this number.

They were very inferiour in dignity to Bishops, to whom, and to the people the Election belonged formerly; but *Innocent* the 2*d.* gave it wholly, and only to Cardinals, in the year 1135. yet left it at their

their liberty to chooſe one of their number, or another Prelate.

But in the year 1464. *Paul* the 2*d.* ordered that none but a Cardinal ſhould be choſen *Pope*. *Innocent* the 4*th.* was the man, who in the year, 1242. altered the precedency between Biſhops and Cardinals, to the advantage of the laſt: the ſame gave them the red Hat: *Bonifacius* the 9*th.* the Habite: and *Paul* the 2*d.* the Cap of Scarlet: to ſhew, (as they ſay) how ready they are to ſhed their blood for the Service of the Church; though I think, that this colour and Purple which they uſe too, are to ſet forth their Pomp and Magnificence.

Theſe Cardinals are choſen by the *Pope*, according to his intimation, and ſome few upon the commendation of the Emperour, and the King of *France*, *Spain*, and *Poland*, out of the *German*, *French*, *&c.* Nations; according to the choice of thoſe Princes, who have liberty to commend, one two, or three, of what Nation they pleaſe: All theſe Cardinals are divided into three Orders, ſix Biſhops, 50 Prieſts, fourteen Deacons: every one of them takes place of all Embaſſadours whatſoever, and pre-

rend the hand from all Princes, except Crowned Heads.

Thus much I thought fit to speak of Cardinals, especially now upon the occasion of the *Sede vacante*, for they are met to make a new Election, of which 'tis necessary to say something.

The *Pope* being dead, Nine days are employed towards his Funeral, and other formalities depending thereupon: On the ninth day after, Mass is said, a speech is made in commendation of the deceased, the Cardinal *Padrone*, that is Master, (a Title introduced by *Paul* the 5th. but fully confirmed by *Urban* the 8th.) who is a nigh relation of the late *Pope*, acquaints all Cardinals abroad with his death, who thereupon make all possible haste to come to *Rome*.

On the 10th day after the *Popes* death all the Cardinals who are able, meet at St. *Peters* Church, where the Mass of the Holy Ghost, as they call it, is sung by the Dean of Cardinals, he who is of a longest standing, or the next to him, if he be not well; there is also made a speech upon the subject of the Election of a new *Pope*, with a great concourse of people to hear

hear it; after this, all the Cardinals go in a Procession towards the Conclave, following a Priest who carries the Cross, the Musicians singing their *Veni Creator Spiritus.*

This Conclave is a place in the *Vatican* near St. *Peters* Church, all made a new by order of the Cardinal *Chamberlain*, or *Chamerlengho*, all of wood, which after the Election, is disposed of by the said *Chamberlain*, where a small Lodging is made for every Cardinal, and every one hath his by lot.

The Cardinals, some Prelates, and Votaries go in then, whereof one reads with a loud voice the *Bulls* concerning the Election of *Popes*, which being done, all Cardinals take an oath to observe what is therein contained, in the hands of the Dean, and of Prince *Savelli*, who upon this action hath leave to enter into the *Conclave*, of which he is keeper, and perpetual Marshal of the Church, for himself, and successors: After this Ceremony every one goes to his dinner, and hitherto the doors are shut up, but after dinner all Ambassadors and *Roman* Princes have liberty to go in, and for the space of four or five

hours they treat and negotiate with Cardinals, within their private Lodgings, which time being past, they ring a little bell, whereupon every one is to go away, excepting the Cardinals, and the Deputies or *Deputati* of the *Conclave*, to wit, two servants are allowed to every Cardinal, who chooses whom he likes, the old and weak ones are allowed three; for publick use, are one *Sagrista*, and *Oschaltarra*; and *Solo Sagrista*, who take care of things relating to their Devotions, and belonging to the Altar; five Masters of Ceremonies, the Secretary of the Conclave, a Confessor, two Physicians, an Apothecary, and two to help him; a Surgeon, two Barbers, two Masons, two Carpenters, and sixteen Porters.

Assoon as all others are gone, and these are within, the Conclave is walled in and out, after which, the Cardinals, Dean, and Chamberlain, go about it to see whether it be well: it hath formerly been ordered by some *Popes*, that after this, no Cardinal should be admitted, but 'tis not strictly observed, if they come soon after, and if the Election is like not to be ended so soon: Before they are shut up, orders are

issued by them, for the peace and quiet Government of the City, it being very necessary so to do, upon such a conjuncture, to prevent great and many mischiefs; now all that time the City Officers have a great power, so that if a Malefactor be taken, he is soon made away. 'Tis not usual with the Cardinals to discharge the Officers entrusted by the late *Pope*, but 'tis necessary they should be confirmed by them.

Within the *Conclave*, is kept an exact Guard, under the Command of the High Marshal; first at the *Ruota*, seven in number, which are some holes left unwalled, to take in the Victuals which are brought in to every Cardinal; These *Ruota's* are used at *Rome*, in every Monastery and Nunnery; the use whereof is to receive what things are brought from without, and given from within: For at the inside of the Wall are some few boards joyned together, of five or six foot high, and three or thereabouts in breadth, some more, some less; but being all of an equal bigness; and this is so suspended, that it turns about like a wheel, which in *Italian*, is called *Ruota*; 'tis hollow within, so that it is capacious

cious of receiving great dishes, baskets, and some can hold a child of twelve yeares old; Then upon the Staires in the Courts, and at all passages, Guards also are set with four great *corps de guard* in the great place before St. *Peters* Church; every time dinner is sent in to a Cardinal, 'tis attended by some of his servants, and a Mace-bearer, with a Silver Mace, with the Cloth and other things used at Table; this is done twice a day, and besides the Soldiers, four Prelates stand at every *Ruota* to search strictly every thing which is sent in, the very bread is all cut in small pieces for fear there should be any bills in't, and those four Prelates are changed every day by the Marshal, to whom these bills shall be given, in case any be intercepted, which he will keep till the Election be over; but this is searched, not only without, but also within, by the Masters of Ceremonies, who have taken an oath of fidelity, and after the meat is in, these *ruota*'s are sealed with paper, both at the in and out-sides: at every one of these holes, twelve Soldiers are of Guard in the day, and twenty five in the night time.

Every

Every Cadinal eats and drinks alone with his domesticks, and all their victuals are dressed by order of the Martial, but the Church pays for't, and one buyeth as much as the other; there is also an allowance for others, who are shut up, some more or less according to their quality, but usually the Cardinals servants have the rest of their Masters, and the Guards every where are mounted every day according to the Marshals order, who also according to the *Bulls* doth lessen the victuals of Cardinals, when ten days are over, since they, being shut up, in case the Election be not made, and this is to force them to hasten it, and to come to an agreement about it; which to effect, once a day they meet at the Chappel of the *Conclave*, and he who at last is chosen, ought to have two parts of three of the Votes, so that if of sixty he had but thirty nine, it would not be a right Election. The Cardinal Dean, hath the command of Cardinals, as the Camerlengo of others who are shut up, and and at last they must agree about him who is to be chosen, and all this while, all within the Conclave are ignorant of what passes in the City.

Assoon

Assoon as 'tis known within the Conclave who is the *Pope*, the Cardinal *Decano* desireth him to approve of the choice which the Colledge hath made of him, which he consents to, and takes what name he likes, as *Innocent*, *Clement*, *Alexander*, or the like: then standing between the two chief Cardinals, he is led behind the Altar, where they take off his Cardinals clothes, and give him the habit of a *Pope*; immediately after is sung the *Te Deum*: then all the Cardinals one after another, falling upon their knees, do (to use their words) adore him, kissing his foot, then the right hand, and then he gives them *osculum pacis*, upon both cheeks, so they give him signs of submission, which is meant by kissing of the feet, they expect from him Protection, in kissing his hand, and they receive from him a sign of affection, being kissed on the lips or cheeks.

These things being performed, one of the Masters of Ceremonies, takes the Gross, and carries it before him, whilst the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* is sung, and they go towards the Balcone which looks upon the great place before St. *Peters* Church, called *La loggia della benedittione*;

and

and the *Masons* beat down the Wall of partition, and there the *Pope* being between two Cardinals, they shew him to the People, who stand below in the great Place, one of the Cardinals with a loud voice pronouncing these Latin words, *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, habemus Papam Eminentissimum & reverendissimum* N. N. *qui sibi nomen imposuit*, N. N. Hereupon, the People cries out, *God save the new Pope, God bless the Family*, N. N. and at the same time, one can hear the Artillerie of the *Castel San. Angelo* go off, there being constantly some to observe the pulling down of the Wall; then all the Soldiers give their Vollies; the Drums beat, the Trumpets sound, and all the Bells in town ring. Assoon as the people hear who is chosen, they run to his Palace and Plunder it, it being the custom so to do; but those Cardinals who are likely to be chosen before they go to the *Conclave*, have removed the best things they have.

The Ceremony at the window of the Balcone being ended, all the Cardinals wait upon the new *Pope* to his Palace in the *Vatican*, whence every one goes home;

in

in the mean time, the *Pope* receives no publick visits, only private ones from his relations, if they be at *Rome*, and those who have been his friends in the *Conclave*, who come to receive the effects of the promises he made to them to get their assistance, for usually they engage upon such conditions of interest and preferment: about a fortnight's time is allowed to prepare things, in order of his being carried in a Chair on mens shoulders to St. *Peters* Church, to take possession of the *Popedom*, which is done with much pompe and magnificence; and about a fortnight after he goes in a *Cavalcata* to do the same at the Church of St. *John* of *Lateran*: but from the first day of his Election, he begins to give his Orders about the Goverment of all his Dominions.

'Tis usual with every *Pope* to take an Oath before the Cardinals, about several things, the chief whereof are, 1. To labour to keep peace between all Christian Princes. 2*ly*. They will promote to the dignity of Cardinals, none but those who are worthy of it. 3*ly*. To call to an account all the Officers of the State, of the Church, when their time is expired. 4*ly*.

They

They will not make two Brothers Cardinals, which was the Decree of *Julius* the *Second.5ly.* Not to alienate any thing belonging to the Church, which things all the World knows how well they are observed, but if *Popes* may (as they think) dispence others from their oathes, why not themselves too? so that after this Principle of the *Popes* Infallibility, men who believe it, must not complain against him, for if he be infallible, he can do nothing amiss; these were the words of the late Duke *Cezarini* to two *Jesuits*, who complained to him, that the *Pope Alexander* the *7th.* had perswaded Father *Oliva* their General, to sell to him land for 100000 Crowns.

I thought it would not be amiss to mention so much about the Election of a *Pope*, it being seasonable now, in the time of a *Conclave*, for those who have a mind to be informed of their wayes about it, for as to many other practices of that Court, I wholly wave it off, as are their Formalities in visits, their change of cloths, creation of Cardinals, and things depending therefrom, of their Jobilees, Indulgences, Blessing of Swords, *Agnus Dei's*,

and

and *Roses*, *Cavalcatai*, and Processions, Washing of the Feet, Beatification, Canonization, and so many other things which we account to be vain or Superstitious.

I judge it unnecessary to mention the order setled in the *Popes* Court and Family, but withal think it not amiss to say few words about their great Courts and Offices, which I will only mention, they being not material for any *Protestant* State who have nothing to do there, by way of Publick Ministers.

All businesses there are managed by certain Councels or Commitees, which they call *Congregationi*, to the number of sixteen. The *First*, is that *Del Sant Officio*, or Inquisition, which as all the rest hath a Secretary, by whom are given all dispatches, which he seals also with the seal of the Cardinal, who is the President of it; in it are treated Matters of Religion, conducing to what they call Heresie, Prophanation, Blasphemy, *&c.* This ever is Governed by the *Dominicans*, and meets three times a week, on *Monday* at the Palace *del sant Officio*, on *Wednesday*, at the *Dominicans Church*, called, *La Minerva*; and the *Thursday*, before the *Pope*.

The

The 2*d*. is that which takes cognizance of affaires concerning Bishops and Regular Priests, or other of their Dioceſs's, of this, as of all the reſt a Cardinal is the Head; into it enter 24 Cardinals, which is the greateſt number of any, yet never under ſix in any other; whenſoever *Friars* have any falling out with *Biſhops*, they preſently threaten to bring them before this Congregation, which meets every *Friday* in the Houſe of the Cardinal, Preſident of it.

The 3*d*. is *del concilio*, the juriſdiction of which, is to give interpretation to the Text of the Council of *Trent*, it meets every *Sunday* in the Houſe of the Cardinal Preſident of it, or a *Thurſday* if he hath a mind to it.

The 4*th*. is *della immunita Eccleſiaſtica*, inſtituted by *Urban* the 8*th*. to judge of Eccleſiaſtical Priviledges, which is kept every *Thurſday*, at one of the *Popes* Palaces, a Cardinal being the Head of it, for which the *Camera* allowes him 1000 Crowns a year.

The 5*th*. is *di ſtato*, which handles matters of State; all the Cardinals, who have been

been Nuncios and Ambassadours, come in to it, and the Secretary of State: there is no prefixed day, but it depends upon the pleasure of the *Pope*, or his Nephew Cardinal, in whose presence it meets.

The *6th.* is *de propaganda fide*, instituted by *Gregory* the *15th.* it consults about all manner of wayes, how to promote the *Roman* Faith throughout all parts of the World; all their Emissaries depend upon this, so that what Jesuits and Priests soever we have here, have their mission from this Congregation, whereof Cardinal *Francesco Barberini* is President: it meets usually once a moneth upon a *Munday*, either in the presence of the *Pope*, or in the Colledge called *de propaganda fide*, which is, in *Piazza d' Ispagna*.

The *7th.* is *de' Riti* which judges of all differences about Ceremonies, Formalities, Places, Canonizations, *&c.* it sits once a month, and more if needs be, in the House of the Cardinal President of it, who is ever the Senior of the Deputies, who is to summon it, as do all other Cardinals, Presidents of other Congregations.

The *8th.* is *del acqua* wherein are treated

treated Matters concerning Rivers, Channels, Bridges, and the like; there is no certain day to meet, but when occasion requires it, the Cardinal who is the Head of it, sends out his summons about it.

The 9th. is; *delle Strade*, whereof the Camerlengo is the chief, all things relating to the necessaries and ornament of Streets, is treated of in't, under its jurisdiction are matters of Aqueducts and Fountains; the distribution, whereof is made by this Congregation as they think fit and convenient: and meet only upon occasion.

The 10th. is *della consulta per governo, dello stato di S. chiesa*, is of a great concernment, it takes cognizance of any thing relating to the Government of the whole State of the Church; all Legats, Governours of Cities and Provinces give an account of what things of concernment happens in their Government to this Congregation, who orders them to act as they think fit: yet by especial priviledge, the Legats of *Avignon*, *Ceneda*, *Benevento*, and the Governor of *Fermo*, and *Spoleti* are free from her jurisdiction. The Cardinal *Padron*, for the time, who is ever a

nigh

nigh relation of the *Pope*, and who rules all under him is the head of it, at whose pleasure it usually meets in his Lodgings.

The 11*th*. is *dell*, *indice*, into it are brought Matters of Books, Printed, or to be Printed, to be examined, Corrected, and Licensed; it usually meets once a month or seldomer, as the Cardinal President of it is pleased to order.

The 12*th*, is *degli Syravii*, or *grievances*, otherwise, *De buono Regimine*, 'tis a Court of redress and equity, this, particular subjects, and whole Corporations apply themselves to, when they are wronged, or oppressed by their Governours; this Cardinal *Padron*, is the Head of, who orders it to meet at his house when he hath a mind to't.

The 13*th*, is *Sopra le Zecche*, *about the mint*; sees all monies to be coyned, and sets the price of forreign Coyns, and all currrent moneys. This Congregation upon occasion, meets at the house of the Cardinal, head of it.

The 14*th*. is *Dell*, *Essame*. All they who are to be promoted to any Bishopricks in *Italy*, and not one of it, are to be ex-

examined by these; it is usually done in the Popes presence, and at his pleasure, for the time, he who is examined kneeling all the while upon a stool opposite to the Pope; the Cardinals only are free from this examen.

The 15*th.* is *de negotii consistorialis*, about consistorial affairs; of which the Cardinal *Decano*, Senior, or Eldest as to Election, is the head; at whose house 'tis kept but very seldome, because it treats only about matters referred to it by the Pope, as are resigning of Bishopricks, Abbeys, Ecclesiastical Taxes and Impositions.

Having already mentioned Consistorial Affairs; one is to know that the Consistory is the Assembly of all Cardinals then at *Rome*, whereat the Pope is ever present: it being kept at *Monte Cavallo* on Mundays, Wednesdays or Frydays; where more general and serious Affairs are treated of: and what things the Pope is pleased to lay to their consideration, upon a consistory day, no Congregation is kept except it had been summoned before the Pope had intimated the Consistory; and in such a case the Congregation is put off till the afternoon; for Consistories are

ever

ever held betimes in the morning.

Of Consistories, some are publick; when by example, hats are bestowed upon Cardinals after a publick *Cavalcata*, or when Audience is given to Ambassadors, and forraign Ministers; or else private, according to the Affairs they are to treat of; and this last sort are kept more often than the former.

That which they call *Collegio*, is the whole body of Cardinals; among whom ever is one *Camerlengo* of the *Sacro Collegio*, to distinguish it from the Popes Chamberlain, and is but for a year: there is also a Secretary, a Clerk, and Controller; the Secretary is ever an *Italian*; but the Clerk is one year a *German*, another a *French* man, and then a *Spaniard*.

But there is the 16*th*. and last Congregation, *Della visita Apostolica*, whose care it is to see all Churches, Chappels, and places of devotion in and about *Rome*, that nothing be wanting in't, tending to the necessaries, ornaments and decorum thereof; and to cause every thing to be duely and orderly performed in't.

Besides all these Courts, there is a considerable one called *la Ruota*, composed of twelve

twelve Prelates; whereof there is one *German*, one *French*-man, two *Spaniards*; one of *Bologna*, one of *Ferrara*, one *Venetian*, one *Toscan*, one *Milanese*, and three *Romans*. They judge of all causes about Benefices, whether they be in those Countries which own the Popes authority, or else-where. About which they use to meet in the Apostolical Palace twice a week, on Mondayes and Fridayes; and although the place of *Auditori di Ruota* be not very beneficial in it self, it being not worth much above one Thousand Crowns by the year, yet the Pope, bestowing upon them other Ecclesiastical preferments, it makes it very considerable, the more as to honour, that sometimes some of the Auditory are made Cardinals.

There is also the *Camera Apostolica*, or Apostolick-Chamber, consisting of the Cardinal-Chamberlain, the Governor of *Rome* in quality of Vice-Chamberlain, the Treasurer-general, the Auditor and the President of the Chamber, the Advocate of the poor, the Solicitor-general, and Attorney-general, the Commissary & o twelve *Chierici* or Clerks; whereof four ever are Over-seers or Prefetti, the one *dell*

Annona of all manner of Corn, and price the other *della grajna* over the price of all sorts of Flesh and Fish; the third over all the Prisons which he visits, with others, every Thursday; and the fourth is to oversee the Streets. The Jurisdiction of this Court is extended upon every thing relating to the Church, in the way of Bonds, Leases, In-comes, Expences, matters of Rights, Customes, Impositions, and all Rights, Possessions and Priviledges; in a word, when Popes were not so absolute, as they are now, these *Camera*, was as the Guardian of the State of the Church, to see that it should not be imbeciled, wronged or alienated; so that 'tis indeed the true Treasory of the Church, all Tributes due to it being paid here.

There is also another Office called *Dataria*, which is administred usually by a Cardinal, who hath one under him called *Sotto Datario*, throughout whose hands pass the vacancies of all benefices, which bring yearly very great In-comes to the Pope, who allows 2000 Crowns to the *Datario*, and 1000 to the *Sotto Datario*. This Office is not the same as that of the Secretary of the Pope, as some do imagine; for

for he who is properly the Secretary of State is the Popes Nephew, or Nephews sometimes, who hath several under him: to him all Ambassadors, & publick Ministers make their addresses. This writes and subscribes by the Popes orders, all Letters to Kings, Princes, Nuncioes, and others, and signs the Patents of several Governours, and other Officers of the State of the Church; yet the Patents and Commissions of Legats, Vice-Legats, Governors of great Cities &c. are signed by the Pope himself, and sealed *sub annulo piscatoris*.

But there are other great Offices granted for life. First, The Popes Vicar, now Cardinal *Gimetti* above 84 years of age, a coveteous man, who hath many Kinsmen, which two things have made him lose the hopes of ever being chosen Pope. His Jurisdiction is extended upon regular Priests & Nunneries: the Jews, and deboist women which in *Rome* are publickly allowed, for which toleration, 'tis the common opinion, they pay a Tribute, and certainly there is more than opinion in't, because every one who is a House-keeper, & a known Whore must have her name registred at the Office

of the Vice-Gerent, who is one of the chief Officers of the *Vicario*, who is also the Judge of them as such; so that all the year long they enjoy the liberty of their licentious life, except at certain times which they call *Vacanze*, as about Christmas and Easter, for then the *Sbirri* or Bayliffs go to search their houses, and if they find any there, they may if they will carry them and her to prison; Therefore to prevent this inconveniency, these women send to the Office, and by the means of some moneys, obtain a defence to those Officers to come to their houses, and to molest them. And in the dayes of *Alexander* the 7th. there was a talk of suppressing these infamous houses; a sign of the Popes protection, which gave occasion to this impious *pasquinata*, *laudata Dominum puri*.

Another great Office is that of the *Sommo penitentiere*, at present Cardinal *Ludovicio*, a person of mean parts; his Jurisdiction is about Penances, Absolutions, and Confessions; for he having many under him in great and weighty cases, they acquaint him with the faults, though not with the name of the party, to know of the

penance

penance to be laid upon.

The *Vice-Cancelliere*, or Vice-Chancellor so called, because the *Pope* reserves to himself the Title of Chancellor of the Universal Church, hath the whole ordering of the Chancery. The *Camerlengo*, now Cardinal *Antonio Barberini*, hath a very Honourable and beneficial place, for the Chamberlain takes cognizance of every thing belonging to the *Camera*, and in the time of *Sede Vacante*, or when there is no Pope, he takes the Popes Lodgings, is attended with his Guard, and causes money to be coyned in his Name: This place is worth 15000 Crowns by the year, besides of three Keys of the Treasure of the Castle *Saint Angelo*, he hath one, the Pope having the other, and the Cardinal *Decano* the third.

The *Prefetto della signatura di giustitia*, must see all Petitions about matters of Justice, and answers them, ordering what he thinks fit to be done about it. The like is done in matters of grace, pardon, *&c.* by the *Prefetto della signatura di gratia*. The *Prefetto de brevi* peruses and signs all the Apostolical Writs and Orders. The *Bibliothecario* is Over-seer of the Presses

and of the Library in the *Vatican*, and commands those who have any thing to do in it. These four last Offices I mentioned only because they are in the hands of Cardinals as well as the four former, though lesse honorable and beneficial.

So are the three following bestowed upon Cardinalls, and all is for life, to wit, The three Arch-*Priests*, of St *John* of *Lateran*, now Cardinal *Ghigi*; of St. *Peter* in *Vatican*, at present Cardinal *Francesco Barberini*; & of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, now Cardinal *Rospiglioſi*, by the late resigning of it up by Cardinal *Antonio Barberini*, who received some satisfaction for it. Now these three Arch-*Priests* have an absolute power over all the Canons, *Priests*, Curats, and Beneficiaries of their Churches; which Benefices they may bestow upon whom they please when they are vacant; besides this, he of *Lateran* hath the administration of Justice in civils and criminals over all persons within the Jurisdiction of his Church,

Having already insisted so long upon this Subject, I must forbear speaking of other great charges, whether they belong to the Court, as the Master of Ceremonies,

Master

Master of the S. Palace, Secretaries, Steward, &c. Or be Military, as General of the Galleys of the Popes Guards of the Church, who hath four under him, to wit, of *Avignon* & *Ferrara*, and the Generals of the Horse, and of the Artillery. This great place is ever given to a nigh relation of the Pope; and he, with him of the Galleys, and the Governour of the Castle Saint *Angelo*, are answerable of their actions to the Pope alone; or whether they be Ecclesiastical, as Almoners, Chaplains, &c. or at last, whether they be Civil, as Governour of *Rome*, divided into 14 *Rioni* or Quarters; namely, *Monte*, *Colonna*, St. *Eustacio*, *Ponte*, *Regola*, *Ripa*, *Trastevere*, *Trivio*, *Campidelli Parione*, *Pigna*, *Campo Marzo*, St. *Angelo*, *Borgo*; but this last is actually depending upon the Governour of St *Angelo*, and also Senator, and Conservatours of *Rome*, &c.

The *King of Spain* comes next to the *Pope* in *Italy*; he hath *Naples*, and the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardegna* upon the Coasts, with *Milan* in *Lombardy*, and *Finale* the head of a Marquisate upon the Coasts of *Genoa*, and nearer to *Tuscany*, he hath *Portolongone*, and *Orbitello*.

The State of Naples.

NAples containes twelve Provinces, which are a division of the three ancient, their names are *Terra di Lavoro*, *Principato citra*, *Principato ultra*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria citra*, *Calabria ultra*, *terra d'Otranto*, *terra di Bari*, *Capitanata*, *Contado di Molisse*, *Abruzzo citra*, and *Abruzzo ultra*.; Most of these parts are inhabited by very dangerous people, the more by reason of the abundance of Woods which do shelter those Rogues, whom the Crimes they have committed have driven from the Cities, whither they are not safe to return; whence they have the name of *Banditi*, and whom the protection of Great Men to make use of them one against another, by reason of their animosities, keeps there: those of *Calabria*, specially along the Coasts, have the name of being the worst of all, so that 'tis turned into a Proverb, *He is as wicked as a Calabrese*. The best part of the Kingdom is, *Terra di Lavoro*, which is all the Countrey about *Capua* and *Naples*: There are but three good Ha-

vens

vens able to receive a Fleet, *Brundisi*, *Taranto*, and *Trani*, for *Gaeta*, *Napoli*, *Puzzuolo*, *Bari* and *Otranto*, are neither safe nor great enough. 'Tis said, that the Cities, Lands, or Castles in the Kingdome come to 2573, the least of which will make 500 Souls, or thereabouts: They have good Souldiers, but proud, treacherous and inconstant for the generality; yet there are brave men amongst the Nobility, I mean for Civility, Courage and Valour. The chief strong Holds of the Kingdom have Garrisons of Natural *Spaniards*, by whom they are strangely oppressed, as by them they were conquered.

They are Governed by a *Spanish* Vice-King, to whom this people is given as a prey, that he may make himself amends for the Expences he hath been at in some chargeable Embassage, or a reward for some service he hath done to the Crown; so that in three years, which is the usual prefixed time for the exercise of that Authority (because the Court of *Spain* would not have Subjects to grow too potent in those parts) they squeeze and oppress that people with an

infinite number of Taxes, and other heavy burthens; the Nation being look't upon by them as Factious, Seditious, reckoned and desirous of Novelties; there being 30 notable Rebellions within the space of 500 years: So that the Vice-Kings rule with a Despotick Authority; and let him do what he pleases in this kind, people must never look for redress, he not being accountable for things of this nature; Besides that, the City, or any part of the Kingdom may not send upon any occasion an Agent or Deputy into *Spain* without a special License from the Vice-King, which he grants very seldome: Neither are the Nobility free from oppressions, being dragg'd into Prisons, or driven into Exile upon the least suspicion that they grow too potent, or are any ways disaffected. The insolencies of the *Spanish* Souldiers, and others of that Nation are not at all punished; the very High-waymen, and other Rogues, who are as thorns in the sides of the people, and who vex, disturb, and plague them, are winked at, except it be upon a jealousie of State: So that, that formerly flourishing Kingdom, and full of all manner of neces-

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sary and delightful things, is at this day brought to an utmost misery, that Nation not being allowed so much as liberty of trading with strangers, or selling their Inland Commodities, but upon certain Conditions, and a Licence well paid for: and all the Gold which can be gathered there, is sent into *Spain*, which doth amount to vast sums. The Duke *Medina delas torres los volez*, told one day the *Cavaliero Damenico Zane*, then Embassadour at the *Spanish* Court from *Venice*, that in six years of his Government of that Kingdome, he raised 44 Millions of Crowns to supply the occasions of the Dukedome of *Milan*, and of *Flanders*, Moneys are drawn from thence, with a number of Souldiers to serve in the wars that are made in the forenamed Countreys: These and many other intollerable oppressions caused the great and many insurrections that have been there, which cost so much blood, not only in the times of troubles, but long after, it being the custome of *Spaniards* to punish to the Tenth Generation those faults which have been committed against the State. For all this, the Nobility of that King-

dom

dom triumphing over their miseries, and boasting of their Slavery, are high and proud, and yet gentle and courteous in their carriage, though they insult over the common people, they spend beyond their estates, are splendid in an outward shew, but frugal at home, loyal to the King, Enemies to the people, slaves of Royal Ministers, and very hard to their Vassals, whom they pinch to the very bones: with all this they hate the *Spanish* Nation.

Out of this, one may judge of that enmity which is between the *Neapolitans*, specially the people and the *Spaniards*; there is never a year but hundreds of these last are killed by others, either at night in the streets of *Naples*, or in the fields, when Fruits and Grapes grow ripe; this people, and so those of *Milan*, are grieved to see how those same *Spaniards* who come to them in a low and poor condition, and with *Capatos de Cuerda*, within a year or two do live very high, out of the blood and substance of the Countrey. So that the *Spaniards* being so hard Masters, they keep what they have in this Kingdom only, by the means of

the

the division which is in it; so they keep all what they have in *Italy*, only because the *Italians* suffer them to enjoy it for fear of falling into the hands of worse Masters, not that they can have worse, but because they are not so sensible at injuries received from *Spaniards*, as those which they have suffered from some other Nations, not as to the things, but as to the manner of doing them; the *Spaniard* layes heavy burthens and impoverishes them, and upon suspicions and jealousies of State takes away mens lives; nay, he attempts upon the Honor of families, but he carries it with more secresie and circumspection than other lighter Nations, whose manner of proceeding seems more insolent; besides that, the *Spanish* haughtiness and gravity is more suitable to the *Italian* temper. Further, *Spain* and other Dominions belonging to it, being remote from *Italy*, the *Italians* do not account them altogether so dangerous, as other Martial Nations who are at hand. However, if the late Duke of *Guise* had play'd his game well in *Massaniello*'s time, and well used that conjuncture, he could have given them a great check in that Kingdom; but unadvisedly

visedly he left the City, which was at his Devotion, and he kept a number of insolent persons about him, which ever undid the *French* affairs in *Italy*.

There goes a story of this Duke, that several persons of Quality and Interest, to the number of 2000, appointed a Marquess to go in their name, and tell him, they were unanimously resolved to stand by him, and settle the Crown upon his head, if he would come to them; but he was fast asleep when that Person came to his Palace; Who said, he had matters of great concernment to impart to him; but his people being loath to awaken him, he was forced to stay a long while, at last being awaken'd, the other was called in, but before he was come to the Chamber, the Duke had began to Dance a Courante, and would not speak with him till he had Danced; which the other being amazed at and offended, said to him afterwards in few words, I was come to you upon such an Errand; But said he, by my so long waiting here, the time and opportunity are lost, therefore know that, *Co'l balare non se guadagnano li Regni*, Kingdoms are not gotten by Dancing: So he went to

those

those who sent him, and told them what he had seen; so that every one went home, and this person soon after forsook the Kingdom to avoid the punishment which the *Spaniard* would have inflicted upon him: If this be true, how did he strangely miscarry in't, for so he lost all the Nobility, who afterwards closed with the *Spaniard*.

The City of *Naples* is great and populous, they reckon, that with the late Plague 200000 died in it. Churches there are a Sanctuary to Malefactors, which hath been often an occasion of falling out between the Vice-Kings and Card. *Filomarini* late Arch-Bishop, for some of those having upon occasion caused these Malefactors to be taken by force out of these Churches; he threatned, and did actually excommunicate some for breaking, as he pretended, the priviledges of those Churches, as if the House of God (if such a name may be given to such places) was to be a Sanctuary to, and a den of Thieves. There are three Castles in this City; one is St. *Elme* upon a Mountain, built by King *Robert* the first; the other is *Castel Nevo*, in the Port which keeps com-

communication with the Palace of the Vice-Kings nigh to it, this was built by *Charles*, brother to *Lewis* the 9th. of *France*; the third is, *Dell-Ovo*, which is upon a Rock in the Sea, *William* the third of *Normandy* built it. There are also several fair Churches embelished with rare Pictures, and other ornaments, so there are two Cabinets worth seeing. At the end of one of the Suburbs, in the way to *Puzzuola*, is, *la Grotta di Luculo*, a way made through the Rock of almost a mile in lenth, and broad enough for three Coaches when they are gotten in't: I shall not mention all the relicks of Antiquity which are seen in the way to *Puzzuola*, when one is at it, and at *Baya*, as the *Elysian* fields, and those other things so often mentioned in the Poets; nor the mount *Vesuvius*, now *la Montagne di Somma*, these things are out of my purpose. I return to *Naples*, and say, that the *Virtuosi* there are called some *Ardenti*, others *Intronati*; and 'tis to be observed, that when these Societies take a name, 'tis either a Title of imperfection, which betokens a privation, or of a moral Virtue, or of some habit of the Intellect,

and

and all this to shew that they esteem and study the perfection, contrary to the defect signified by the name.

Their great Offices of the Kingdome are either given or sold according to the Kings pleasure, but the last rather than the first; and this for life: They are the High-Constable now a *Roman* Prince of the Family *Colonna*, the high Judge, high Admiral, high-Chamberlain, *Gran Pronotario*, a kind of a Principal Secretary, *Gran Siniscalco*, or high-Steward, and high-Chancellour, all which are given some to *Italians*, some to *Spaniards*.

All the High-Courts do sit in the City of *Naples*, for there are the *Seggi*, which are the Assemblies of the Nobility of the whole Kingdom, divided into five Classes; The first is *Seggio Capoano*. The second, *Di Nido*; the third, *Di Montagna*; The fourth, *Di Porta*; and the fifth, *Di Porta-nuova*, so that except one be admitted into one of those Seats, he cannot pass for a Nobleman or Gentleman; the Nobility and Gentry there differing only in Degree, and not in Order; now some enter into several *Seggi*, so that to be admited in, he must be past 20 years of age,

and

and have the greater part of the Votes of all the Nobles of the *Seggio*.

Out of these 3 *Seggi* are chosen 3 Gentlemen, who with one chosen by the people, make up the Body, called the Magistrate of the City, through whose hands do pass all manner of Taxes and Impositions which the Vice-Roy hath a mind to lay upon City and whole Kingdom: they also finde out means how to bring it about.

There is also in *Naples* that Tribunal so much talked of, called, *La Vicaria*, which matters of the greatest importance are brought unto, and receives appeals from all parts of the Kingdom. The greatest of all is also kept there, called it *Collaterale*, whereof the *Consigliere*, or Counsellors have the Title of *Regenti*, and for distinction-sake; they wear a long gown, this under the King is the Supreme Court of Justice, treating of several important matters; these *Regenti* are chosen by the King, part *Napolitans*, and part *Spaniards*, and 'tis for life.

It also hath a Councel of State, which judges of things concerning War composed, of six persons, whereof three are

Spani-

Spaniards, and three *Italians*, half Souldiers, and half gown-men, chosen by the King; over this as all the rest is the Vice-King, whose authority is very great, and the profit arbitrary.

I am loath to omit speaking of a custome of the *Napolitans*, for all their reserved temper once a year, at Vintage-time, they allow themselves a very great liberty of jesting one with another; the meanest person is then allowed to jear the Noblest man of the Land, who use to begin with them: they give one another all the bad names which their Language doth afford, whereof the least at another time would cause murthers and stabbings. This calls to my mind a singular custome they have at *Rome*, when there is fallen some snow, at which time the most reserved and vertuous men and women throw Balls one at another; the Princes and their Wives practise it one with another within their Palaces: Neighbours throw it through the windows into the Chambers one of another; if one hath any kindness for another, 'tis the fashion to go under the window, and throw in some, as they receive some, if they go by the door

door of any of their acquaintances, and this is amongst them a token of civility and favour, and so much observed, that if any Gentleman or friend of mine comes to me, the most vertuous woman that happens to be my Neighbour, can shew me no greater respect nor kindness, than to throw at him snow balls.

Before I speak of the secrets of State, which the *Spaniards* have in relation to this Kingdom, 'twill not be amiss to speak few words of some Maximes they have in general, relating to the rest of their State-Dominions in *Italy*. At *Madrid* for the affairs of *Italy*, there is a particular Council consisting of six Counsellours, whereof two are *Napolitans*, two *Sicilians*, and two of *Milan*, besides the President, who ever is a *Spaniard*, and now the Marquess of *Vellada* by name; This Council was instituted by *Philip* the Second, no other affairs but those of *Italy* are treated of in it, which formerly belonged to the congnizance of the Council of *Aragon*. When first of all the *Spaniards* came to *Italy*, and had gotten footing in it, they went about by fair means to insinuate themselves into the affection

of

of the Nation, to turn it upon occasion to their own advantage; but the *Italians*, who, as they say of themselves, *Dormono Co'll Occhio aperto*, who are constantly awake, stood upon their guards, and observed the *Spanish* motion, which being taken notice of by the House of *Austria*, *Charls* the 5th, & then the Council I spake of just now under his Son *Philip* the second, took another course, and went about to terrifie them with their Arms, to draw some to them with fair promises, to threaten others, to sow divisions amongst them, but above all they lookt upon the Republick of *Venice* as a great let to their designs, having ever appeared to be the Champion of the Liberties of *Italy*; the troubles which this raised in those parts sometimes against *Mantoa*, other times, against *Savoy*, &c. are well known; but now a constant maxime they hold, is, to get at *Rome* as many Cardinals as they can to be their friends, that if possible they may every time have a friend of theirs chosen Pope, the truth is, they are potent in the Conclave, because of several *Napolitans*, and *Milaneses* who are in it, the several means they have to gratifie

Church-

Church-men, by conferring Benefices on them within their Dominions in *Italy*, and by selling Lands and States to others within the same, besides the many pensions which they allow to several of them: so that whilst the *French* hath but eight or ten of his side, namely, *D' Este*, *Ursini*, *Antonio*, *Grimaldi*, *Mancini*, *Maldachini*, *de Rets*, *Bouillon*, the greater number of them are for the *Spaniard*; 'tis true, 'tis very chargeable for them to keep this party, and a *Spanish* States-Man had reason to say, *It were better for his King to buy Popes ready made, than to make them.*

But now in few words, *Spaniards* do govern *Naples* with these few rules; the first is, to hold good correspondencie with the *Pope*, not only because they do him homage for it, but because he is a near neighbour, much able to trouble it, and to foment and assist Insurrections in it. The second is, to foment Divisions between the Nobility and the people, and between the Nobility themselves, who being all together united, could for certain drive them out; and though the *Napolitans* Horse's back be much gall'd

gall'd, if he could gather his strength together, he would be able to shake off the Rider. The third Maxime is, as much as they can doe to make great States fall into the hands of women, whom they marry afterwards to *Spanish* Noble-Men.

The Chief Families of that Kingdom are at present *Caracciolí*, where of the Duke of *Auelina* is the Head; *Caraffa*, of which Family is the Duke of *Matalone*; *Pignatelle*, who had the title of Duke of *Montcleone*, *Monaldeſqui*, *Aquaviva*, *Brancaccio*, and several others who have the name of Princes, as, *Marana*, &c. The antient family of the Princes of *Salerno* is extinct as to the name, and their Palace at *Naples*; which was very stately, hath these several years been possessed by the Jesuites.

I shall not say much of *Sicily*, 'tis governed by a Vice-King at present; the Duke of *Albuquerque*, as *Don Pedro d' Arragon* is he of *Naples*: This Island is known to be plentiful; and as formerly it was the Granary of *Italy*, so 'tis still of part of it, but specially of *Malta*, for the Gallies of the Order come almost every

very week to transport Corn out of it. *Messina* drives a great Trade of Silks; the Inhabitants have still their *est* & *non est*, that is, when any thing is proposed by the Vice-King or his Order, after a debate had thereupon to satisfie the people, they cry out *non est*, if it be not contrary to their Priviledges; if it be, they say, *est*, then every one gets to his Arms. This City hath several priviledges, but cannot get them confirmed at *Madrid*; neither do the Vice-Kings dare to trust themselves amongst them; therefore they reside at *Palermo*, which was the landing place of *Don Pedro d' Arragon*, when the money he had received from *Lewis* the 9th of *France*, to make war against the Infidels in *Affrica*, he went to drive *Charles d' Anjon*, *Lewis*'s Brother, out of the Kingdome whereof he was lawful Sovereign. The people of this Island speak a very corrupt *Italian* Language, mixed with some words of corrupt *Greek*; & as their Language is, so are their manners, and nature, which how treacherous it is let the *Sicilian Vespers* bear witness; by which action they are become not only odious, but also a proverb to *Italy*, having thereby been the au-

author of all the disturbances where-with the *Spanish* Nation have since afflicted those parts of the world; it had been something in withdrawing from the subjection of one (who though he was their lawful Prince, yet he was of a Forein Nation) they had gotten their liberty; yet Princes may see of how dangerous a consequence is this president: but to leave the bad for the worse, 'tis to find a pain, wherein they look't for a pleasure, that is, to be no more reasonable than were the Frogs, who rejected the Reed, to have the *Stork* to rule over them; they should have learned of the Fish, how it is better to keep in the Pan, though amidst boyling water, than to leap out and fall into the burning flames and fire.

Mount Ætna, now *Gibello*, with some of his flames, is still to be seen, its horrid late casting up stones, flames, cinders, as far as *Catania*, and the running of Rivers as it were of fire and brimstone, are known to all *Europe*; Such as we cannot read ever there was the like. *Syracusa* is not very far from it, which is much decay'd, they shew some old standing ruines of a

Castle, as they say of *Dyonisius*; they affirm 'twas in the shape of a shell; in the Centre of which was the Tyrants Closet, whence by the means of some pipes, which conveyed the voice, he heard (if we believe the Tradition) every word spoken by the prisoners; 'tis probable that such a thing may be, there being things of that nature in several parts; though these prisoners were at a great distance from the Closet.

The *Spaniards* govern this Land almost by the same Maximes which they use in *Naples*, only they let them have some few Priviledges, in consideration of their withdrawing from the *French*, and giving themselves up to them; nevertheless, the *Spaniards* are much odious to them by reason of the great and many oppressions they suffer from them, for the which no body pities them, since they brought it upon themselves; however, 'tis the division of the two Chief Cities *Messina* and *Palermo* about precedencie and other things, which upholds the *Spaniards* authority in the Island; for when one of these Cities stands up, the

other

other stoops, and they do every thing in oppolition one to another; the *Spaniard* therefore knoweth how much it imports to his interest to see these differences continue, he foments it with the best of his skill, and to the utmost of his power.

It were in vain to speak of *Sardegna*, seeing the people in it are become *Spaniards* in every thing. There hapned in it not long since a great division caused by falling out between two of the Chief persons of the Island, but having been both transported into *Spain*, the Factions were dispersed, and gave way to a general tranquility. This is a Kingdome, and therefore is Governed by a Vice-King, who was lately Prince *Ludovisio*. Of late they have stirred very much, having killed a Vice-Roy; for which act some have been executed, which their Friends and Relations highly resenting, are causing new Disturbances; so that the present Vice-King not thinking himself strong enough, hath desired more Forces out of *Spain*, specially his Enemies being potent in *Cagliari*, hereby are laid the foundations of an eternal hatred, for their Children inherit of the quarrels, and desire of ven-

geance, as of the states of their parents, this had been a fair occasion for any forrein Enemy of the *Spaniard*. This Island, as that of *Sicily* and *Naples*, maintain a number of Gallies, which of late is much diminished, for put them altogether with the squadron of the Duke of *Tursi*, they do not come to above twenty.

The state of Milan.

VVEsterly it borders with *Piemont* and *Monferrat*, Southerly with the Republick of *Genoa*, Westerly with the Duke of *Parma*, with the Republick of *Venice* and the *Duke* of *Mantoa*, and Northerly with the *Valtoline*. The Dukedome of *Milan* is as good and as plentiful a Countrey as any in *Italy*, full 300 miles about, plain and even ground; in it are many Lakes full of Fish, and is watered by considerable Rivers, which make it pleasant, plentiful and strong; *Po* runs by *Cremona*, the *Tanaro* by *Alessandria*, and the *Bormia*, which is a little one not far off. *Adda*, nigh to *Lodi* and *Ticcino* by the walls of

of *Pavia*, by *Milan* run two Channels, one of which is of great use (and this goes through it) and both for watering of grounds, whence it is that they have so good pastures; hence it is that this Dukedom doth furnish with Cheese all *Italy*, and other places; the best sort of that which goes under the name of *Parmesan* is made at *Lodi*, one of the Cities of the Dukedome, and its Territory. This Countrey doth also produce abundance of all manner of Corn, good Fruits, and good Wines; this goodness of the Soyle, joyned to the industry of the people, makes it very rich; it contains many Cities, as *Milano*, *Pavia*, *Tortona*, *Alessandria*, *Della Paglia*, *Novarra*, *Mortara*, *Vigevano*, *Cremona*, *Lodi*, *Como* and *Lomelina*, every one strong, and except *Mortara*, the head of a Territory, which borrows its name from the Town. This Dukedome is Governed by one sent from *Spain*, and hath the name of *Governour*, who was *Don Lewis de Guſman ponce de Leon*: And now the Marquess *de Los Balbases*: These Governours improve well their time, which, as I said in the case of *Naples*, is for three years, or thereabouts,

except they be confirmed; and this makes part of the misery of that people, that every three years they have new and greedy Ministers, who make haste to be rich, and when they begin to be full, they are gone to give place to one who is as hungry as they were. The King of *Spain* raises here one Millions of Crowns a year, but it goes all for the necessities of the State. In time of peace there are kept 5000 men; there was a strong hold, called the Fort *Sandoval*, which commanded the way into one of the Gates of *Vercelli*, which is but a Cannon-shot off, and 'twas raised to bridle that place; but the *Spaniards* after the taking of *Vercelli* demolished it not long since as a thing chargeable, and not necessary; but by the late Treaty of Peace with *France*, they restored *Vercelli* to the Duke of *Savoy*.

The City of *Milan* is called the great, for 'tis of a large circumference, full of people, to the number of about 300000, and of handy-craft-men, almost of all sort, in so good repute amongst the *Italians*, that when any sumptuous clothes or furnitures are to be bought, or any considerable equipage is to be made, to the very

very Liveries, they send thither to have it done: They work much in Silks, Gold and Silver thread, and make admirable good Gun-barils; all this maintains abundance of weak and poor people. In this place is a Castle, esteemed one of the strongest in *Europe*, well provided with Ammunition and Artillery; there is a particular Governour of it, who doth not depend upon the Governor of the Dukedome, but hath his Orders immediately from *Spain*. In this City is a very great number of stately Churches, specially the *Domo*, all built with white Marble; they say, about it are 600 Statues; which cost 1000 Crowns a piece: If this Church be once finished according to the design, none but St. *Peter* in *Rome* will be able to compare to it; till then, this last will be the faireſt in *Europe*, and I believe, of the world, for all the great commendations given to that of *Santa Sophia* in *Constantinople*. I return to *Milan*, and say, not only there are in't fair Churches, but also sumptuous Cloysters, Hospitals, Palaces, and other Noble Buildings: A Churchman there hath a fine Cabinet full of Rarities, most of his own invention and

making. *Virtuosi* in *Milan* have the name of *Nascostis*; but I must not omit to say, that the house which the *Carthusians* have fifteen miles from *Milan*, and five from *Pavia*, is the best of their Order.

Notwithstanding the Proverb that the King of *Spain* governs *Sicily* by meekness, or *Dolcezza*, *Naples* by fraud, or *con Inganno*, and *Milan* by Authority, or *Authorita* (which may be understood in relation to the strong holds he has in it:) 'Tis his maxime of State, to Rule this Dukedome with more gentleness, than the rest of his Dominions in *Italy*: This practice is inforced by the temper of the people, who are not so willing nor so apt as others to suffer abuses, burthens exceedingly heavy, nor other great oppressions, their spirits can hardly bear it; they are of an humour free, open, plain, and as they call it, *Razzo*, being usually called the *Lombards temper*: That which makes further the *Spaniards* more circumspect in this, is that many Neighbour Princes would willingly receive and assist them, if they came to have a pull for their liberty, for they joyn with the Duke of *Mantoa*, the *Venetians*, with *Parma*, *Genoa*,

Genoa, *Piemont*, and with the *Grisons*, by the *Valteline*; therefore the *Spaniards*, who knew the importance of that passage to them, struggled so hard for it, and set all *Europe* in an uproar about it: yet for all this gentleness of theirs used to the *Milanese*, that people is not free from grievances and oppressions. That Countrey which for a long while together hath been the seat of War, hath been obliged to maintain in a good measure the *Spanish*, *Germans*, *French*, *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Mantuan* Forces, the perpetual lodging, quartering, and contributing, for the Souldiers hath wasted them; and all this hath been a pretence for the *Spanish* Ministers to oppress them: The *Italian* Proverb saith, that the *Spanish* Ministers in *Sicily Rodono* they *Gnaw*, in *Naples Mangiano* they eat, but in *Milan Divorano* they devour: but they bear it, seeing that excepting the Republicks, the Subjects of other Princes are used no better than they.

At first the *Sforzi* got this Countrey from the *Visconti*, and the House of *Aus-*

stria hath gotten it from these, yet the *Venetians* have of it *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*: I will not shew whose right it is to have it, if the Heirs of *Valentine* have it not. The Chief Families of it are now *Borromeo*, *Trivultio*, *Stampa*, *Trotti*, *Sforza*, *Homodei*, *Litta*, &c.

Finale is a Town well fortified, of great concernment to the *Spaniard*, for 'tis the only door they have to get into *Milan* from *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, &c. It is also a bridle to the *Genoesi*. *Portolongone* and *Orbitelle* are also upon the Coasts, the one on the *Continent*, the other close by upon a *Rock* in the Sea, of great importance to bridle the Grand Duke, *Viareggio* belonging to *Luca* and the *Genoesi*.

The state of the Duke of Savoy.

THe Duke of *Savoy* is the most considerable Prince of *Italy*, after the Crowned Heads; He comes from *Humbert*, a younger Brother of *Saxony*, and a man of fortune: *Amede* the great, or, *le Comte Verd*, or *Green Earl*, so called, because usually his Clothes were of that colour, as were those of his Followers; by his merits and good fortune raised himself to a great credit; he did great Services against Infidels, specially at the taking of *Rhodes* from the Infidels, and then he took the Motto about the Coat of Arms which to this day that Family retains; *F. E. R. T.* signifying, *Fortitudo, Ejus, Rhodum Tenuit.* His History is in *Fresco* at the pleasure-house of the Dukes at *Rivoli*. This Family was first Earls of *Moriene*, then by Marriage and favour of some Emperour, Princes of *Piemont*, and Dukes of *Savoy*; and of late from the Duke of *Mantoa*, they have gotten *Trin* and *Alba* in *Monferrat* by the Treaty of *Chieraſco*, so that besides *Piemont* with

with its Vallies, and *Savoy*, the Duke hath upon the Sea-coasts, *Villa Franca*, *Oneglia*, and *Nizza di provinza*, with as strong a Castle as any in *Europe*, his Dominions indeed are large, though to speak the truth, *Savoy* is a barren and a mountainous Countrey, which defect is somewhat made up by the indefatigable laboriousness of the people, and by the populousness and plenty of *Piemont*.

His Court is for certain the Ornament of *Italy*, not composed of a vast number of persons, nor solitary neither; there is in it a variety without confusion, well compacted, consisting of choice persons, well qualified for a Court in a handsome and orderly way; In it the *French* and *Italian* languages are commonly spoken, and the free *French* manner of life is practised in it. These Princes have been, and are still very Honourable in *Europe*; for this long while Emperors and Kings have given them the Title of *Serenissime*, when some other Princes of *Italy* did not so much as pretend to it: but it happened in the days of Pope *Urban* the 8th, that he (it may be to please his Nephews)

gave

gave a higher title to Cardinals than they had before, the title of *Illustrissime* was changed into that of *Eminentissime*; this obliged some Princes to take the title *Serenissime* and of Highness; upon which account still to kee p a distinction between them and other Princes, the Dukes of Savoy added *Reale* to *Altezza* to make up *Royal Highness*, which they pretend to, as being Titular Kings of *Cyprus*, and so by vertue of a match with *France*, the *French* did not oppose it; and this Duke is now in hopes that the King or Prince Regent of *Portugal* (being now himself own'd to be a Crowned Head by reason of the late Marriage, or that which is to be made with that Prince Regent, and the Dutchesse's Sister, will approve of it, but upon what grounds I dispute not.

This Duke is Vicar of the Empire in *Italy*, he could not yet obtain from the Emperour the Investiture of what he hath in *Montferrat*; however of late the Electoral Colledge at the Sollicitation of the House of *Bavaria*, whose present Elector married his Sister, did something on his behalf, to wit, made a Decree, that

that his not being invested by the Emperour shall be no prejudice to his Right, seeing he had used his diligence to obtain it. 'Tis a thing which raises much the Glory of this Prince, that he hath several of his Subjects descended from Emperours of *East* and *West* Kings, other Sovereign Princes, and of the Chief Families of *Italy*; in *Piemont* alone are above fifty Earles, fifteen Marquesses at least; this makes him the more Considerable, and adds something to his strength, which on the other side doth consist in the largeness of his Dominions, the Number, Affection, and Fidelity of his Subjects; and in his strong places, of which the Castle of *Montmelian*, though taken by the *French*, is one of the chief in *Savoy*, they use to say, that their Prince hath a City which is 300 miles about, to shew how thick Towns are in it, and how populous it is, in *Piemont* alone are 8 Episcopal Cities, and 130 very populous places. Another thing is, that the Duke is as absolute as any Prince in *Europe*. 'Tis said of *Charles Emanuel*, this Dukes Grand-Father, that one day discoursing with *Henry* the fourth of *France*, and the King having

asked

asked which of the two Pistols (pieces of Gold) the *French* or *Spanish* he accounted the heaviest; his answer was, That which I shall give my grain to, meaning that of the two Kings, he whom he would assist should be the strongest.

His Riches I will not mention, his yearly income is said to amount to one Million, and Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, out of which *Savoy* and the Vallies yeild him but Four Hundred Thousand, all which is Nobly spent. I must say however, that Gold and Silver are scarce in his Dominions, which on the other side afford him a great plenty of all things, whereby all manner of provisions are at a low rate. Upon consideration of this, two several propolals were made to the present Duke by a judicious person; the first and less important, was to settle a fixed and a constant Office for the conveniencie of Travellers, so that giving so much, they should be defrayed for their Diet, and should be provided with Horses; to this effect a Correspondencie was to be setled at *Lyon*, as this had been convenient for strangers and safe, so it had made the moneys of all those who enter-

Italy that ways to pass through the hands of the Dukes Officers; and these sums had been very considerable, seeing all those, who go by land into *Italy* out of *Spain*, in time of peace out of *France*, and parts of *Germany*, come by the way of *Lyon*, this would have encouraged many to go that way who do not, helpt the sale of provisions, and brought Moneys into the Countrey: but this Proposal, though approved, yet wanting a further encouragement came to nothing. The second is to make *Nizza*, or *Villa Franca* a Free port, any of these lies convenient for ships, this would bring in Trade, and consequently Moneys, and would help the sale of the Lands Commodities: but I omit the reasons which are given to inforce this propoſal, for I must come to other things.

Turin is the Metropolis of *Piemont*, and the ordinary place of the Dukes Residence, when he is not at his houses of pleasure, of which he hath as great a number of fine and convenient ones, as any other Prince: This City is well seated in a plain, the Rivers *Po* and *Dosre* running not far from it; in the Court is an Office of

the

the Admiralty, as they call it of the *Po*, which is more for formality-sake, than for any benefit. In *Turin* are to be seen the Old and New Palaces, with the Garden, from the place to the New Palace to that of St. *Carlos*, is on both sides a row of fine Houses all uniform. I shall say nothing of Churches there, nor of the Country-houses, as *Rivoli*, *Moncallier*, *la Valintin*, *Millefleur*, and *la Venrea*, which is the present Dukes delight; but I must take notice that there is as good a Citadel as any in *Europe*, in which there is a Well, into which one may go down to water a Horse, and at the same time, one can come up thence and not see one another. There are also Armes for 40000 men.

Many things I omit here to tell, that *Carlo Emanuels*, the present Duke, is a Prince well made of his person, of a middle stature, full face, with that natural red, which only doth embelish it; his sight is none of the best, as may be observed when he eats or reads; he loves hunting with some kinde of excess, the scorching heat, nor the foulness of weather, being not able to divert him from it:

it : and by this constant course he hath brought himself into a capacity to endure any hardship ; yet this passion doth not take him off his important businesses, which he is vigorous in, and follows it very close: He hath set days to give Publick Audience, at which time the least of his Subjects may speak to him without any disturbance at all, and he hears them very patiently, as he is an active man, so he takes cognizance of every thing, and imparts all to his Lady, who being a judicious Princess, and exceedingly complying with his Highness, she ever hath a place in his Closet, as in his Bed.

He is a Prince very civil to Strangers, and now frugal at home, for he finds his Ancestors have been too free, so he hath been himself, but now says for a reason of his alteration, that as to Frugality he cannot imitate a greater Monarch than the King of *France*, with whom he hath a conformity of temper, joyned to a natural affection. His inclination to Women hath been discovered by his actings with the Marchioness of *Cahours*, and is daily observed by those who follow his Court. His first Minister of State is the Marques

ques of *Pianezza*, of the Family *d'Allie*, and Brother to *Count Philip*; a great Politician he is, and a greater Enemy to the Protestants of the Vallies of *Piemont*: His Son the Marques of *Livorno*, kept the place when he was lately retired for some distasts, though under pretence of Devotion. The Marques *San Germano* Governour of *Turin*, is of the same Family; The Marques *Palaveſin* (Successor to the Marques *de Fleury*, who was turned out for his privacies with the Marchioness *de Cahours*) Captain of the Guards, is also much in favour; so is the Old Marques of *Voghera*, whose Lady hath the oversight of the Maids of Honour, but none can boast of being his special Favourite. The Princes of the Blood are few, the Young Prince of *Piemont*, Son to the Duke by this Wife, and Prince *Philibert*, with the Earl of *Soissons*, Sons to the late Prince *Thomas*. There is at Court a Princess, the Dukes Sister unmarried: there is a Natural Uncle of the Dukes, *Don Antonio*, Governour of *Villa Franca*, and a Natural Son of the late *Victor Amedee*, who lives privately in *France*.

This

This Princes Countrey is much exposed to the *French* power, whereby they have been stript twice, and therefore his interest is to agree with *France*, for fear of bringing himself into the sad condition which the Duke of *Lorrain* is in, for the 18 or 20000 men, which without any great inconveniencie he can keep on foot, could hardly save him; he is withal as handsomely as he can to prevent the *French* from setling in *Milan*, for then he would be shut up by them every way.

The State of the Grand Duke.

THe Family of *Medici*, of which are the Grand Dukes of *Toscany*, hath not been very long possessed of that Dignity, neither is it so antient as are many others in *Italy*; when *Florence* was a Republick, 'twas one of the Chief, but no more than the *Strozzi*, *Pitty*, and some others were. *Alexander* began the work, but was quickly dispatched by his Cousin *Lorenzo*: then came *Cosmo*, who was the first named & Crowned Grand Duke by *Pope*

Pio

Pio *Quinto* of his Family, *Ferdinand* who left off the Cardinals Cap after the death of his Elder Brother, *Cosmo* 2*d.* and *Ferdinand* 2*d.* who is the present Grand Duke, who married *Donna Vittoria della Rovere*, last heir of the late Duke of *Urbino*. Some say a Physician was the first who raised that Family, and that in token of it, they took the Pile (but 'tis the Balls or Globes) for their Armes; they were raised by *Charles* the 5*th.* the Emperor, who gave *Margarita* his Natural Daughter to *Alessandro*, and so forced the *Florentines* to submit to him.

The Grand Dukes are Creatures of *Clement* the 7*th.* and of *Charles* the 5*th.* Emperour, with whose arms and countenancing, they became Masters of *Florence*; at present they are in possession of three formerly potent Republicks, to wit, *Florence*, *Pisa*, and *Siena*; they have all antient *Toscany*, except *Luca* and *Sarzana*; hence is the Proverb, which saith, If the Grand Duke had *Luca*, and *Sarzana*, *Sarebbe*, *Re di Toscana*, for he hath also the Cities of *Pistoia*, *Volterra*, *Cortona*, *Arezzo*, *Montepulciano*, and several other lands and Castles of a

lesser

lesser importance, besides part of the Island *Alba*, where is *Cosmopoli*, and Porto *Ferrario*. When the Dukes came to the Government, the *Florentines* had subdued *Pisa*, wherefore the condition of that City is the worst of the three, for being a conquer'd Countrey they are under the Jurisdiction of *Florence*; but *Siena* is Governed in the same way, as when it was a Republick, owning none but the Grand Duke, or the Governour sent by him; thus they have nothing to do at *Florence*, even they are used better than the *Florentines*, who being look't upon as factious men, and desirous of liberty, are not only disarmed, as all other Subjects are, but are more bridled too: A further reason is, that the Duke doth homage for it to the Crown of *Spain* (as he doth for *Radicofany* to the *Pope*) therefore he dares not take altogether the same liberty there, which he uses in other places. *Pisa* is void of inhabitants, but well seated, and hath in it several things worthy to be seen; the Grand Duke delights to be in't, therefore he comes to it, having the conveniencie of a Forrest, which lies not far from it. *Siena* is a fine City, in a good Air, with good store of people in it, the *Italian* tongue

tongue is well spoken, the *Virtuosi* that are there, are called *Intronati*.

Florence, the place of the Courts ordinary residence, is a stately City, and very populous, there being accounted to be 100000 souls in it; the Gentry in it doth not think it below themselves to follow trade, which is specially of Silks, so that it may pass for a rich town; there are in it 10 or 12 Families, accounted to be worth one Million of Crowns. There are three Castles, fine Churches, specially the *Domo*, which on the outside is all of white and black Marble, and that incomparable Chapel of *San Lorenzo*, for the which Marble is not rich enough to enter, as one of the Materials, but *Jasper*, *Agatha*, *Porphiry*, *&c.* There are further rare Palaces, and the Dukes Galleries exceedingly rich, the River *Arno* runs through it, there is that learned Society, called *la Crusca*.

The Grand Duke trading much underhand, as its thought, and being very frugal, must be very rich; not to mention those rich Galleries of his esteemed worth above three Millions, but he draws to himself the best of his Dominion, there being

ing hardly in the World a Country more oppressed with Customes and Taxes than this is; hence it is, that except *Florence*, where trade doth flourish, and *Siena*, where is still some rest of liberty the whole Country is the Grand Dukes, very little inhabited, and full of poverty, and this for fear those *Tuscan* active wits should cause some disturbance; therefore he hath several strong holds with a 1000 horse commanded by strangers, and about 4000 foot, besides the Militia's, which upon occasion ought to be ready. 'Tis a priviledge of the Horse-men that they may not be arrested for any debt whatsoever, so that any one that's affraid and in danger of it, uses all possible means to get in amongst them.

This Prince for his person is a judicious man, and upon all occasions carries himself very politickly, besides the general genius of the Nation, the particular one of the *Florentines*, which goes beyond others, and his own natural parts: Having ruled these many years, he hath gotten a great deal of experience; therefore he knows admirably well how to *far fatti Suoi*, to mind and do his business

nesses, whereat he is as a *Cervellone, Italians* call it. He carries his whole Council along with him, for he hath no constant nor fixed Councellours, but upon occasion he sends for whom he pleases to have their advice, but all resolutions do absolutely depend upon him; so that the whole manner of his Government is to be attributed to him alone. He is extraordinary civil to strangers, specially if they be persons of Quality, and after they have had the Honour of waiting on him, he sends them a *Regale*, or a present of Fruits, Wines, *&c.* But of all Nations, *Germans* are those who have the greatest priviledges about his person, and in his Dominions, strangers of other Nations having any thing to do with his Searchers, and the like Officers, do free themselves of toyl and trouble, by saying they are *Germans*; and at present, amongst those many of that Nation who are at his service, there is one who is much in favour with him.

He is very careful to know the affairs of other States, to be able the better to rule his own, to that end he spares no charges that he may be well informed of it,

knowing it is the deepest policie of Princes to dive into the affairs of others; so every year he spends great sums of moneys to maintain the Spies he keeps abroad, there being no Court, and hardly any considerable City, but he hath some to give him intelligences of what passes in't.

He will have an exact knowledge of the state of every thing within his dominions, therefore in 1645, having a mind to know the yearly Income of his Clergy, he caused an account to be made of it; 'twas found to amount to 765000 Crowns, whence one may guess he doth not neglect to know his own, which is thought to be of half a Million of *English* pounds, besides Casualities, of which he hardly spends the half; so that he must needs have many a Million in his Coffer; Indeed *Legorn* alone is worth a treasure to him, it being the most noted Store-house of all the *Mediterranean*, there being at it an extraordinary concourse of Ships from all parts, and 'tis a place well fortified, there is in it the Statue of *Ferdinand* the first, with four slaves in Brass, then the which nothing better can be seen in that kind.

kind. But to return to the Grand Dukes riches, he daily improves them with his frugality, for to save charges he hath lessened the number of his Gallies, having now but four, two of which are unfit for service; and to get monies he hires the others to Merchants to transport their Wares; formerly his Gallies lay along the Coasts to secure them from Pyrates; now they have Towers along the Sea shore, where they use to light fires when any Enemies or Pyrates appear, which gives a warning where the danger is. This Prince gathers monies on all hands, for at *Florence*, *Legorn*, and other places, he receives Contribution from the *Curtegians*, or prostitute women, for the tolleration and protection he gives them; so that an injury done to any of those Infamous persons shall be punished, as if it had been done to the most virtuous in the world. But the Grand Duke is not satisfied to be frugal himself, he hath often exhorted the Grand Prince his Son to the practice of it; Son, saith he, *Non spender' quell' che tu hai perche, chi non ha none*; Do not spend what thou hast, for he who hath nothing, is nothing.

Another way of this Grand Duke to get monies, and wherein lies his great maxime of policy at home, is to keep his Subjects low; no people in the world lye under heavier Taxes and burthens than this doth; every house that is Let our, payes him the tenth part of the rent; every Contract of Marriage, Eight by the hundred of the portion; and every one who will goe to Law, afore he begin must pay two for the hundred, out of this one may judge of the rest; this usage makes that Prince to mistrust his Subjects, who are active, stirring, and men of pregnant parts, exceedingly desirous of, and breathing after liberty, for 'tis very hard for a people who lived a long while in a way of Republick, to bring themselves to live under a Monarch, so absolute and so hard as this is; so that upon this account the Grand Dukes strong places are all well furnished with Armes, Ammunition, and Provision, not only to resist a forreign Enemy upon occasion, but to bridle his own Subjects; which is indeed a sad case, when a Prince hath as many Enemies as he hath Subjects; how can he think himself sure with those who hate and fear

fear him, seeing any one who out of despair caresnot for his life, is ever the Master of anothers, specially in those parts where 'tis so much used, and where men are so skill'd at it; and the Devil who is a murtherer from the beginning, omits no occasion to infuse bloody motions into his Hirelings. Happy is that Prince whose strongest fortress consists in the love of his Subjects, who hath not only their hands but their hearts along with him; 'tis certain that of all Enemies the *Domestick* is the most dangerous, and the most to be feared. *Oderint dum metuant*, was a fit expression for such a man as *Tyberius*. Yet though the Grand *Duke* keeps his people so low, he hath left them a shaddow of liberty, whereat they be somewhat satisfied, it consists in the use of those common Laws of Justice which they had in the time of the republick.

Now to the maximes of State of this Prince in Relation to his Neighbours, the first is apparently to be united with *Spain*, yet in private to keep friendship and correspondency with *France*, which the *Spaniards* often times have been much displeased at, and had some thoughts to resent it, but

fearing least the remedy might prove worse than the disease, they have chosen to sit still. What he doth in *France*, the same he practises with the Republick of *Venice*: but that which he minds most of all, is to have a good number of Cardinals, and other useful persons of Quality his pentioners at *Rome*, to have none but those who be his friends chosen *Popes*, for the great'st stormes he is afraid of are from thence, for knowing how matter is combustible at home, he fears least *Pope* would encourage and assist his people to recover that liberty which they are so much longing after; and that hath been some *Popes* who were born his Subjects, as one of the *Clements*, and lately *Urban* the 8th. who have given him or his Ancestours trouble enough.

Of his Family, Prince *Matthias* his Brother died lately, Governour of *Sienna*, and now Prince *Leopold* is created Cardinal, his Son the *Grand Prince* his Heir Apparent is called *Cosmo*, who hath married the *Princess* of *Vaulx*, of the *French* Royal blood: for a long while there hath been an unhappy falling

out between them, but now all differences are composed; by some the fault was laid upon one, and by others upon the other; 'tis not fit for men to search into the causes of falling out between Husband and Wife, specially when they are Princes; some particular ones I heard, which I doe not minde, onely one may say that the retired manner of life practised in *Florence* differs very much from that which is lead at *Paris*, so that an *Italian* may happen to require a thing which a *French* Woman will have no mind to grant: I know in *Tuscany* there are still some Noble and Ancient Families, but as the *Grand Dukes* have been very jealous of their Authority, they have either rooted out, or brought very low the Chief, and those of whom they were the most jealous.

The State of Mantoa.

THe Family *Gonzaga* hath possessed the State of *Mantoa* since the year 1328. at which time *Roberto Gonzaga* having expelled some petty Usurpers, he made himself Master of it; they enjoyed it without any Title till the year 1433. when the Emperour *Sigismond* Created *Giovanni Francesco* Marquesse, and *Charles* the 5th. in the year 1530. made *Federico* Duke of it; this Married *Margarita Paleologa* Heir to the Marquesate of *Monferrat*. The Titles of this Prince are these, Duke of *Mantoa*, Marquess of *Monferrat*, Prince, and perpetual Vicar of the Empire in *Italy*, Marquess of *Gonzaga*, *Viadana*, *Gozzolo*, *Dozzolo*, Earle of *Rodiga*, and Lord of *Luzara*.

These *Dukes* could formerly live in as great a splendour as any *Prince* in *Italy*, their equal, specially since *Monferrat* was united to their State, but since the late Warre made against the *Duke Charles* the first, in the year 1630. by the House of *Austria*, under pretence that

that he had not done homage to the Emperour, nor acknowledged him for his Soveraign, though the true reason was, because being born in *France*, he was by them suspected to be wholly inclined that way, and by the *Duke* of *Savoy*, who would have stript him of *Monferrat*, which is joyning to *Piemont*: their Strength is so weakned, and their Revenue, and yearly Income so lessened, that without the help of other *Princes* they cannot maintain their Garisons, as it is in the case of *Gazal* that strong *place*, so that from above 300000 Crowns they had a year, they are brought to 80000. which yet are not clear. *Mantoa*, formerly a most flourishing and very populous City, hath at present but few Inhabitants, and is full of misery, not caused by their *Princes* who have been the meekest of all *Italy*, but they could not rise up again since they were taken and plundered by the Imperial Army. The best Ornament of that City was, and is, still the *Dukes Palace*, where they reckon at least 550. Chambers very richly furnished with hangings and bedding, there are 1000. Beds, and many rich Statues; but be-

fore the taking of the City, 'twas as they say, more stately and rich, then the Mills only of the City were worth 10000. Sterling a year. Upon occasion this *Duke* can raise 10000. Foot, but not to keep them very long, and 800. Horse: now the *Mantoan* Horse is esteemed the best of *Italy*.

There are more Sovereign *Princes* of this Family, than of any other in *Italy*, because Duke *Alfonso* having many Sons, would make every one of them a Sovereign; therefore by the Emperours consent, some Lands he separated from the Jurisdiction of *Mantoa*, and others he bought; so that the Eldest Sonne was Duke of *Mantoa*, another Prince of *Bozzolo*, a third Prince of *Sabionetta*, another Duke *di Guastalla*, a fifth Duke of *Novellara*, and a sixth Marquesse of *Castiglione della Stivere*: but now *Sabionetta* as a Dowry hath been alienated by a Marriage to the House *Caraffa* in *Naples*, and since, the Princess of *Stigliano* of this last Family being married to the Duke *Medina de las torres los Velez*, brought this State into his Family.

The

The late Duke *Charles* the 2d. to unite himself the more to the House of *Austria*, (for the late Emperour had already married a Princess of his Family) took one of the Princesses of *Inspruck* to his Wife, but for all this he neither was much trusted to, or rewarded; the truth is, he was affected to *France*, whose interests he would not have separated from, if he had not thought himselfe slighted at *Paris*, and less respected then was the Duke *Francis* of *Modena*. This *Duke* of *Manton* died not long since in the flower of his Age, leaving only a Son of 12, or 13. years old, who hath succeeded him. He was generally inclined to Women, but in particular to the Countess *Margarita di Cazale*: He was a great Gamester, and lost much money at *Venice*: Upon all occasions he was supplyed by a Jew of *Mantua*, who almost ruled the *Dukes* Affairs to his own advantage, and to the *Prins*'s loss. Jews are tollerated in *Manton* to the number of above 5000. for which they pay 20000. crowns, for 5000. Sterling a year, the more willingly because they are obliged to no marks of distinction, as they are in all.

all other places. The City of *Mantua*, as all others that are considerable in *Italy* hath some *Virtuosi* called *Invaghiti*.

It hath been a maxime of State of these *Princes* to be united to *France*, where they had the *Dukedoms* of *Nevers*, *Rethel*, and *Mayene* which Cardinal *Mazarine* bought, the last for himself, the other two for one of his Nepews, and also to be united to the *Venetians*; to the first, because that King could fall heavy upon the *Duke* of *Savoy*, the perpetual and unreconcileable Enemy of his Family; to the last, because being his next Neighbours, they could assist him upon any occasion. The Friendship which seems to be between this *Duke* and those of *Parma* and *Modena* is not real, by reason some State-differences which happened formerly between them: With the *Grand Duke* he hath had fallings out about the Precedency of their Ministers: though the *Grand Duke* hath larger dominions, the others Family hath been more Noble, and is more Antient; besides the other reason of the enmity is, that the *Grand Duke* hath several Goods of his for the portion of the Princess *Catharina di*

Medici,

Medici, married to *Duke Ferdinando*.

But the greatest Enmity of this House, is, against that of *Savoy* about *Monferrat*, and other things; their differences are so great, that no means can be found out to compose them: and here I must not omit to speak of the Treaty of *Chierasco* in reference to these differences; thereby the *Duke* of *Savoy* is put in possession of two good Cities of *Monferrat*, but some satisfaction is to be given for them to the *Duke* of *Mantoa*, therefore the *French* doth oblige himself to pay the *Duke* of *Mantoa* 494000. Crowns of Gold, pretended by that House from *Savoy* for portions; but for the forenamed Summe, the *French* is put in possession of *Pinarolo*, and yet the *Duke* of *Mantoa* never asked those Monies, protesting against that Treaty; so that upon occasion this may happen to be a ground of troubles in *Italy*.

The

The state of the Duke of Parma.

THe *Dukedoms* of *Parma* and *Piacenze*, two of the best Cities of *Italy*, have been possessed by the Family *Farneze* above these 122. years, after several revolutions they fell to the Church, and were at last by *Pope Paolo tertio*, given to *Pietro Luigi Farneze* his Son born afore he was a Church-man. *Charles* the 5th Emperour oppos'd it at first, but after the marriage of *Octavio* 2d *Duke* with his Natural Daughter he approved of it, besides the *Dukedoms* of *Parma* and *Piacenza* in *Lombardy*, he hath the *Dukedome* of *Castro*, and County of *Roncigliom* within the Sate of the Church, which the first was pawned to, and for want of paying the monies in the prefixed time, it was united and entailed to the Church, which is the worst that a *Turk* or a *Jew* can do a *Christian*: yet notwithstanding the sufficient reasons to the contrary given by the

the *Duke*, that pretended Father of Christians played this unmerciful trick; and though of late by the means of the *French* King, this Entail was cut off, as yet they could not bring the *Pope* to part with it, as he is obliged by the Treaty of *Pisa*; so well these *Popes* agree, the one to get, and the other to keep. Besides this the *Duke* of *Parma* hath some Lands in the Kingdome of *Naples* for the Doury of *Margarita* of *Austria* married to Prince *Ottavio*.

This *Prince* is perpetual Standardbearer of the Church, to which his State is to fall incase he should die without Male Issue. Although he doth homage to the Church for the whole, he is nevertheless absolute for that, after the homage received, *Popes* having nothing to do in his dominions. *Urban* the 8th was a great enemy to this Family, he took *Castro*, and had it demolished; he would have ruinated *Odoardo* then *Duke*, and Father to this present, who was a wise and a valiant Prince; but *Italian* Princes expressing to be dissatisfied at it, he was obliged to be quiet, having raised upon the Frontires of *Parma*, that strong place called

led *la Fortezza Urbana*. This Family hath given the world some men of great repute, specially him who was Governour of the *Low-Countries*; the loss of *Castro* hath been a great prejudice to the *Duke*, yet he hath still a matter of 400000. Crowns a year: the *Apennine* are as a Wall to his State, which joyned to many Rivers, and some strong Holds, makes his Countrey considerable; he keeps nigh upon 5000. men, but in case of necessity he could bring into the field 20000. Foot, and 1000. Horse, the half he can bring forth without inconveniency; he hath much Nobility in his dominions, and he is very jealous of them, specially of those of *Piacenza*, because the first *Duke* was kill'd there.

What manner of Cities are *Parma* and *Piacenza* I will not describe, nor the curiolities to be seen in them, I name nothing, only let this general rule be taken, in every good City of *Italy*, one is to see the Churches wherein consists their Glory, their Palaces, Gardens, Houses of pleasure, Cabinets, *&c.* all which are embellished with Statues, Pictures in *Oile*, in *Fresco*, and *Mosaick* works, wherein

Por-

Porphiry, Marble, and such rich materials are often used; this I say to free my self from making descripiuons which might make up a great Volume, I only take notice that in *Parma* are some Academists, called *Innominati*.

The present *Duke Ranuccio*, a man of a fat complexion, as yet hath no children, his first Wife being dead, he is again married to the Sister of the late *Duke* of *Modena*, he hath Prince *Alessandro Farnese* his Brother, who hath been in the service of the *Venetians*, and came off with some discontent; at present he serves in *Spain*. There is now at *Rome* Cardinal *Farneze*, but he is not very nigh Kinsman, I am sure he did not act the part of a good Kinsman, when he found out some ways to sell his Principality of *Farneze* to the Pope for *Don Mario* for 80000 Crowns, and a Cardinals Cap, excluding thereby the *Duke* of *Parma* from that Succession, in case the Branch should fail; but an Entail having afterwards been found out, the Pope called for his monies, and restored the Principality, however he is Cardinal by the bargain; the best Palace in *Rome* is *Farneze*, built after the direction of

Michel

Michel Angelo Buonarotta; and one of the best Countrey-pleasure-houses of *Italy*, is *Caprarola* in the County of *Ronciglione*, belonging to the *Duke* of *Parma*.

Till of late, since the dayes of *Charles* the 5th, 'twas a constant maxime of State of these Princes to keep close to the House of *Austria*; but *Odoardo* the late Duke being unsatisfied with the Earl and Duke of *Olivares*, he left that Union, and they have since sided with *France*, as the best power to uphold them in their Quarrels against the *Pope*, which will be a continual ground of troubles in *Italy*, and an occasion of bringing the *French* into it. One thing more is, that these Dukes do more willingly make use of Strangers to be their Ministers when they find them qualified for it, than of their own Subjects.

The

The state of the Duke of Modena.

THe Family *D' Este*, though we put it here last, is much more Antient and Richer than the two former, yet according to that period which is set to Families of Princes, and their Dominions, this hath lost something of its Antient Greatness. They derive their Pedigree from *Azo* Marquess of *Este*, who took the Surname, which now his Family keeps, from the City *Este*, which doth still belong to it: This Married *Alda*, Daughter to the Emperour *Othon* the *First*, in the year, 1000. and had with her, *Modena* and *Reggio*. *Theobaldo d' Este Othon's* Grand-Child, had in the year 1055. *Ferrara* from *Pope John* the 12*th*, which was in the Year, 1598. taken from them by *Clement* the 8*th*, after the death of *Alfonso* the 2*d*, for want of Lawful Heirs Males: yet there was *Cesare d' Este* whom *Alfonso* had from *Laura Ferrarese*, who would have proved that his Father had Married his Mother, and so that he was a Lawful Heir, but the proofs of the *Pope*

who,

who had already taken possession of the place, were the strongest: Yet that Family still pretends to it, affirming they come from a Lawful Heir, though *Popes* will have him to have been a Natural Son; and this as to precedency wrongs that Family, for other Princes will not grant them as *Dukes* of *Modena* only, what they had as *Dukes* of *Ferrara*, although their standing *Dukes* of *Modena* be from *Barso d' Este*, who had the title given him by *Frederick* the 3*d* Emperour in the year 1460. The City hath been a great looser by this change, for instead of the Seat of a Court, 'tis now made a City of War, and of 80000. soules that were in it under the *Dukes*, there's now hardly 20000.

However this *Duke* is still in possession of the Dukedomes of *Modena* and *Reggio*, the Principalities of *Carpi* and *Correggio*, the Earldome of *Roli*, and the Lordships of *Sassevil*, *Garfagna* and *Frignano*, by the late Treaty of *Pisa*; his dispute with the *Pope* about the Vallies of *Gommachio* was decided, being to receive as he did 400000. Crowns for them, 40000. more of damages, and some other advantagious

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conditions: all these lands with others which he hath still in the Dukedom of *Ferrara*, yield him every year full 500000. Crowns; all his Dominions joyning one to another, makes him the more considerable; his strength therefore consists in the number of his people; the only Province *Carfagnana* is said to contain 80. places walled about; he hath also several strong Holds; upon extraordinary Occasions he is able to bring into the field 20000. Foot, and 1000. Horse, and he can without inconveniency keep the halfe of the number, however his Country lies somewhat open to several neighbouring Princes, not for want of good places, of which he hath many, seated at a proportionable and convenient distance one from another, but because that Country lies upon an even ground; in his Citadel of *Modena*, are as they say, Armes for 40000. men; this City is not in repute with other *Italians*, who call it *Modena la pazza*.

These Princes observe the general maximes of their Neighbours, to have a good correspondency with *Venice*, which

which was ever looke upon as the Pro-
tectour of the liberties of *Italy*: Since the
loss of *Ferrara* they kept close to the
Spaniards, but of late their Interest made
them change their affections, for Duke
Francis was in the late *Italian* War, made
General of the *French*, and *Mazarins*
Neece married to Prince *Almerigo* his Son,
who hath left a young Prince to succeed
him. At present all things are done after
the advice of Cardinal *D'Este*, Protector
of the *French* Interest at *Rome*, and the
promoter of the late Union of his Fami-
ly to *France*; He is a Prince very active
and stirring, who lives at *Rome*, when he
comes there, with greater pomp, and
more splendour then any other Cardinal
whatsoever; he is zealous for the *French*,
by whose Friendship his family is much
better with monies, being enriched with
the late Generalship: So is the Country
for in winter the Head Quarters were at
Modena, whereto resorted all the great
Officers, and a great number of inferiour
ones; this somwhat helped the poor peo-
ple to pay those Taxes that are laid so
heavy upon them; at present there is one
of their name, and kinsman afar of, Duke
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Carlo D'Este, if I mistake not, a Subject born to the Duke of *Savoy*, who is a Knight of the Order of the Fleece, whom I have seen attending on the Empress at *Alexandria*, *Pavia*, &c.

The Duke of *Modena* hath this advantage above most Princes in *Italy*, that he hath some of his Subjects who have *Feudi Fiefs* of the Empire; we find many great Families in his Dominions, as the rich Earls, *di San Paolo*, the *Bentivogli Ragoni*, *Buoncompagni*, the Marquesses *Spilamberge*, *Peppoli*; *Gualengo*, *di Vignola* and *Gualteri*. The Earls *Caprari*, *San Martino*, *di Molsa*, *di Maluisia*, *e Montecuculi*, *Tassoni Ferrarese di Conoscia*, and few others; the present Duke being very young, we have nothing to say as to his person; and though he were older, we could say of him that which must be spoken of some others, they are reserved, and live retiredly; so that strangers, for any long while have not free excess to their Courts and Persons.

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The state of Venice.

NOw to go on, I must say something of the Republicks. I do confess I am much at a stand when I see my self obliged to speak of *Venice*; the abundance of matter is often to a man a greater hindrance then help, when he must pick out that which is onely fit for his purpose; to speak well of a Republick esteemed a miracle of Nature, and a Prodigy of Art, the tongue of an Angel is necessary: 'Twere too trivial to say, that this Republick was founded above 1246 years ago, by those who from *Aquileia*, *Padoa*, *&c.* fled from the cruelty of *Attila*: they were governed by *Tribunes* till the year, 697. at which time they made a Head called *Doge*, and they chose *San Marco* to be their Protectour; wherefore a Lyon holding a Book, is their Arms, with this Motto, *Pax tibi Marce Evangelista.*

The Government was part *Aristocracy*, and part *Democracy*, but at the time when *Pietro Gradenigo* was *Doge* in the year

year, 1280. It was resolved in the Senate, that the Government should hereafter belong to the Nobility alone; and to avoid oppositions, all the Families that were in some esteem amongst the people, were declared Nobles, as it hath been practised afterwards upon urging occasions, as in the Wars against *Genoa*, and lately in the Wars against the *Turk*, 100000. Crowns being paid by every one who is made such, besides that he must be otherwise qualified for it. In the Majesty and perpetuity of the Duke, there is a shadow of Monarchy, but the strength and the Authority resides in the Senate, their Dominion is of a great extent. *In terra ferma* they have *Dogado*, *La Marca Trevigiana*, *Padoano*, *Vicentino*, *Veronese*, *Feltrino*, *Bellunese*, *Brescíano*, *Beragamasco*, *Cremasco*, &c. there is further *il Friuli*, with many considerable Cities in it, as *Udine*, *Palma*, and that strong hold *Palma Nova*. *Istria* with four good Cities, and many Lands and places. Out of *Italy* they have *Dalmatia*, with the *Islands* thereto belonging, and the chief Cities of *Zara*, *Cliſſa*: *Cataro*, and few other places in *Albania*;

in the *Levante*, *Corfu*, *Cefalonia*, *Cerigo*, *Zante*, and some other Islands in the *Archipelago*; and the Sovereignty of all the *Golfo* from *Venice* to *Otranto*, and to *la Vallona*, which is seven hundred miles in length; of the Kingdom of *Candia*, they have nothing but the City.

It would require whole Volumes, if one would insist upon the manner of their Government in general, seeing they have been curious to gather the quintessence of all the good Laws and Statutes which antient and modern Republicks had, which they make use of upon occasion: they have above 60. Courts of Judicature, such a diversity being necessary for them to employ so many Noblemen they have. I will hardly mention the *Gran' Consiglio*, wherein are usually 1500. Votes, besides other 500. Nobles who are in Offices else-where, either by Land or Sea; nor the *Pregadi* composed of 200. or thereabouts, or the *Collegio*, or the *Consiglio di Dieci*, nor what manner of businesses they treat of: Why should I tell who are the *Procuratori di San Marco*, *Sesteri*, *tre capi di Quaranta Savi di Mare*, *Savi di terra*, *Savi grandi*,

and so many Officers; this with an exact description of that Republick, and of all her dependencies I could undertake, if I saw occasion, but 'tis a thing that deserves to be by it self, as well as the account of the Forces, and Riches of the Republick, and wherein they consist; I shall not speak of the City which is full of wonders with antient and modern curiosities, only I shall name the *Arsenal*, which is certainly the best in *Europe*, and the Treasure hath many rich and precious stones, however I will not omit to say, that in the City are two sorts of *Virtuosi*, one is called *Discordanti*, and the other *Gussoni*.

I must come to something of the political part of that Government, but before, I must name some of the Chief Families of that Republick. I believe the number of the Nobles exceeds that of 3500. though 40. or 50. Families with their friends and relations, whose leaders they are do govern the whole, the most considerable of these are *Contarini*, now *Doge*, *Sagredo*, *Corraro*, *Capello*, *Mocenigo*, *Morosini*, *Cornaro*, *Gradenigo*, *Grimani*, *Querini*, *Loredano*, *Marcello*, *Pesaro*,

Giustiniano, Foscari, Bembo, Delfini, &c.
Now I proceed, the *Venetians* take a great care to have their young men instructed in those things which concern their Republick; in part to this effect they have found out such a variety of employments, to the end that applying themselves to these, they may in time be fitter to administer those of a higher nature, so that there is hardly any one without some employment suitable to his Genius and Capacity; they also have an usual way to speak familiarly of policy, so that after a long use, and earnest application, and an often hearing of those who understand things well, they must needs make improvement in it. The *Venetians* also most of any *Italians* do travel abroad, and hardly an Ambassadour ever goes to any place, but he is attended by some of the young Nobles, who go to learn the politick part of the Government of the Countrey which the Ambassadour is sent to; and that which is the chief, to the end that the Senate may be instructed of the present state of affairs of any Court, we may observe that almost everywhere they have Ambassadours (not

matter-

mattering what charges they come to) who all the time of their residence, by a constant Intelligence do acquaint the council with every particular thing that falls out in the Court they live at; who not only leave instructions to those who succeed them in the place, but who also when they come home, are obliged to make, in *Pregadi*, a full relation of the state wherein stands the Court whence they come.

One thing above all, which I find extraordinary, is that secresie so inviolably observed amongst them, that amongst so many heads there should be no tongue, nay there have been those who were present at the Council, when violent resolutions were taken against some friend or relation of theirs; they have conversed with them after that, and yet never discovered any thing. Publick Ministers of Princes who reside there, do confess it is more difficult to penetrate into those results made sometimes by above 1500. men, than into those which are made by three or four. 'Tis true, this is look't upon as a part of their wisdome, that publick affairs are

communicated to all, for then when the resolutions they have taken, require secresie, they think themselves obliged to observe it, though it were only upon this account that they are true and faithful to themselves. Thus their general aime is, or at least their Laws tend to maintain peace, union, and liberty. We must not wonder therefore if this Republick is come to such a height, and maintains herself in it, with the excellency of her Counsil, the observation of the Laws, the gravity of manners and customes, and the common desire of maintaining liberty with a severe punishment of all innovations which could disturb the publick peace.

Laws ought not to be Despotick or Arbitrary, nor after the suggestions of sycophants, and the byassed parasites, but in conformity to those of the great Law giver (who though he have an absolute and unlimitable right and power over all, yet he is often times graciously pleased to give reasons of what he doth) they ought to be grounded upon Justice, Reason, and Equity, and to tend to the publick good, which should be the

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end of all civil and municipal laws, and not to be turned into private Channels, to run to particular ends, which happning, *let him look to't who bears not the Sword without cause*, for all private ends ought to be subservient to the publick interest: to this effect, when first all men contracted Societies, and united themselves in Corporations, they knew well they could not subsist without order, which can never be observed without Laws, tending to protect the good in the enjoyment of that peace and quietness they desire, & to terrifie the evil with those punishments threatned them, in case they go about to disturb it. And the truth is, that such Laws being enacted, they look to future ages more than to that time wherein they are made, because those who made them being free agents, and entring willingly, and with their own accord into such Societies as every one of them had a hand in the passing of the Laws, if not in the framing, at least in the approving and confirming of the same; for that which is to be above all, as Laws are, is to be made by the consent of all; So 'tis to be supposed they would

not break the Lawes which they made themselves, upon grounds of Reason and Justice; Hence it is, that as they have made use of the Legislative Power they had, and that they have bound themselves to the execution of them, which being once done, the bond cannot be loose or untied but by the general consent, and in such a case it may be done according to the maxime, that he who makes the Law, can disanul it; (but it must be the whole Legislative Power) for as grounds and reasons sometimes do alter, so may the Laws accordingly, because as a Law doth not sute in all places, so neither at all times, neither may they be allowed, but as much as they conduce to the publick good, which as I said before is the end for the which they were made; but if they turn to be destructive to these ends for the which they were made, they ought certainly to be abrogated and made void; and this shews that every Law is not of the nature of those of the *Persians* and *Medians*, which might not be altered; but because the life of the Law doth not so much consist in the Legislative Act, but specially in the executive part,

not

not only in wisdome, but also in power: therefore they who made the Lawe do appoint those who are to see them executed; and because at first Law-givers could not foresee all cases and accidents which might fall out, there is a certain power reserved to interpret, to explain and to amplifie those Laws, yet upon this condition that sense shall be given to the words of the Law which is most conducing to the end of the Law, that is, to the publick good: For those rules that are imposed by Conquerours as such, and do deserve the name of Laws, but are only despotick orders and commands; the Conquerour after his Victory imposes what he pleaseth upon the Conquered, sometimes nothing but Martial and Arbitrary Laws, as it is this day practised in the *Turkish* Empire, for as he hath gotten it, so he must keep it either by force, or fraud; this is by virtue of a right used between wild beasts, who will tear or spare those that are weaker than themselves.

The Laws of *Venice*, which are the occasion of this discourse, abhor these last, and are of the nature of the former, the happiness which they have enjoyn'd under them,

do highly declare the wisdome of their Law-givers. I believe it were of no little use, if every Conntrey were acquainted with the same; I altogether forbear speaking of them that are common and ordinary, one kind excepted, which is very beneficial, and might prove so to other Countries, being introduced therein, I mean the sumptuary Laws against excess in Clothes, Jewels, Equipage, &c. which, though vain and superficial things do consume & waste the state & substance of many; the servant is not to be known by his cloaths from his Master; and of these how many have we who are more sollicitous of getting Perriwigs, gaudy Cloathes, and the like, than careful to acquire knowledge, virtue and experience, not knowing that those things are borrowed, and not their own, which make no difference between an honest man and the vilest wretch in the world, however they are satisfi'd with the shew, and are like those Apples that grow about the Lake of *Sodom*, which have a fair shew, but have nothing within, blow upon them and they fly into dust and ashes. As there is a difference of quality in persons, so there

should

should be some distinction in cloathes, or the like; the very Stars shew greater brightness some than others. Men should strive to goe one beyond another, not in clothes but in virtue, and good quality. But I'le leave this discourse, not for want of matter, one who hath but common sense and reason could have much to say upon't, but because I avoid to be accounted too censorious and critical, and that some times every truth must not be spoken, or when it is *odium parit*: but to come to my subject, I say, 'tis not so in *Venice*, they minde more solid and substantial things than these, and they practise certain refined maximes, which I have observed.

First, their *Doges* may not ally themselves to any forreign Princes, to prevent receiving from abroad Councils tending to the destruction of liberty at home. Neither is it lawful for any of the *Nobles* to converse with any forreign Ministers, or any one that hath any relation to them, or to keep communication with them by way of letters, or any other direct or indirect way, to remove all occasions of being bribed, and so of betraying the State or

their

their Councils; for this cause 12. or 13. years agoe was put to death one of the Family of *Carnaro*, it being found out that he had been several times at the lodging of the *Spanish* Ambassadour. Further, as they know that the greatness of the Republick comes from their power upon the Seas; so all the Nobles apply themselves specially to Sea Affairs: as for Land service they usually take strangers of known valour and experience out of *Germany*, *Italy*, and other places. To preserve union between the Nobles and the people, and that these may have where to apply themselves; the Nobles do not meddle with publick Schools, or ruling of Parochial Churches, or the like; and more than this, the direction of the Chancery of the Republick, which is a high dignity that hath the ordering of all publick expeditions, and the Secretaries places are ever given to some of the people, to whom also they allow liberty of fishing, coursing, shooting, and the like, there being no propriety in things of this nature, and that they may yet the more get the love and affection of the people, they converse together in Walks, Play-houses, Gaming-

places,

places, and upon all occasions and meetings; so also they take Citizens Daughters to be their Wives: yet for all this the Nobles are so far from hindring, that rather they encourage the divisions which are in the City of *Venice* of one part against another, that is, between the *Castellani* and *Nicolotti*, who use to meet specially in the Month of *September*, upon the Bridge of St. *Barnabas*, which they flock to in great numbers, and the Nobles who happen to be there do encourage every one of those of his side; there they Kick and Cuff one another, but have no Armes: this to some is an effect of animosity, to others a sport, to others a shew, and to all a diversion from other things. Upon this account, they suffer the insolencies of Scholars at *Padua* with their *Chivali* at night to keep a division between them and the Citizens, who also are looked upon as a factious people.

Another maxime which they have, is to keep the scales even between warring Princes, specially in *Italy*, as they have done in the wars of *Milan*, to preserve the Publick Liberty, that one Prince do not grow

too

too potent by the loss of another; but a thing which they study most of all, is, to know the Genius, Customes, Strength, and to find out the Designes of all Princes and Republicks, by which diligence many a time they have found out and avoided great dangers impending over themselves and others. But a very useful maxime they have, and which is very wise, it is ever to hearken after peace, and fit themselves constantly for war: Afore they were involved in this last with the *Turk*, their policicy was by all means to avoid a falling out with so dreadful an Enemy; but it seems at this time providence hath made use of the perfidiousnes of those of *Candia*, and of the *Turks* ambition, to make this maxime to be null and void. But to withdraw from this Ocean, I will say, that out of policy they suffer the delayes of doing Justice, and the tedious proceedings at Law, to keep people in exercise, and the Courts of Justice in credit: By the same reason they are so severe in punishing faults against the State upon all sorts of persons; and to avoid Innovations and Disorders; contrariwise, they be very remiss to those which proceed

ceed from humane frailty: So 'tis to punish more rigourously the faults of the Nobles, than those of the people, to the end that the former do not grow insolent, nor these last discontented. Further they are careful to maintain their priviledges to Provinces and Cities, that they may continue in their Loyalty and affection. Lastly, 'tis a part of their Justice, as of their policy, not to punish the crime of the Fathers upon the Children, nor *e Converso*, the person only which is guilty suffering.

I have one thing more to say before I leave it: Of all States in *Italy* this of *Venice* hangs loose from the Pope most of all, therefore they meddle not in the Court of *Rome*, neither do they care to bestow Pensions upon Cardinals to have a favourable Election, & indeed 'tis not much material to them, seeing they extend their Jurisdiction upon all Regular & Ecclesiastical persons within their Dominions, notwithstanding the endeavours of several *Popes* to the contrary: and they have good Laws to bridle the power of *Popes* within their State, as I will instance only in two Cases; the first is, though the Inquisition be amongst them, yet they have taken away

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its sting, there being constantly three of the wisest and more moderate Senators named to be present at their Consultations; and it is further ordered, that nothing shall be resolved in it, except there be present one of these Senators, who qualifies things, reduces them to moderation, and in case of extremity telling, the Senate must be acquainted with such and such things. The Second Case is, the nomination which *Popes* make, of whom they think fit to some, Church-livings and benefices within their State, the *Pope* pretends he hath right so to do, which they deny; however because they will not openly cross him, they have found out an indirect way, which is this, there is an Order, that no man whosoever shall be put in possession of any Benefice by virtue of any Grant or Nomination from the *Pope*, except the same be first approved of by the Council, so that the Patent being brought to the Council, there it lies till either the person who had it, or the *Pope* who granted it, be dead, which maxime now being known, none of their Subjects will be at the charges and trouble to Sue at *Rome* for any such thing.

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The wiſeſt amongſt them laugh at the pretended Authority and Juriſdiction which *Popes* arrogate to themſelves within the limits of their Republick: he may (ſay they) play *Rex* at *Rome*, and have his Patriarchal Churches, namely St. *Peter* repreſenting the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*; St. *Paul* of *Alexandria*, St. *Mary* the greater of *Antiochia*, St. *Laurance* without the walls of *Jeruſalem*, and ſet over theſe four, St. *John* of *Lateran*, repreſenting the *Pope*, who is over all, but ſay they, ſuch liberty is not allowed him in the States of other Princes. From time to time there hath been Quarrels between *Popes* and this Republick; *Paul* the fifth's Excommunication is not yet forgotten there, nor the Principles of *padre Paolo*, and *padre Fulgentio* rooted out; though the Goſpel be not taught there in publick, one may hear it ſometimes in private. 'Tis true, of late the Jeſuites were re-admitted there, but meer neceſſity of State obliged them to it, though their re-admiſſion was carried on but by few *Balls* or Votes, the late *Popes* Letter earneſtly entreating them to do it, and ſaying, that if he could have

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have gone in person to ask it, he would have done it, was not so efficacious as the promise of keeping 3000 men at his own charges in *Dalmatia*, for the service of the Republick; and upon occasion the use of his Gallies, with some other advantages: however, they are still odious in that City to all sorts of people, and a small matter will send them out again: In a private Conversation between the late *Pope* and a *Venetian* Ambassadour then at *Rome*, upon the question moved by the Pope, *Where was their Title to the Soveraignty of the Gulf?* the other answered him smartly, *'Tis upon the back of Constantines donation*; this shews something in the bottom of the *Venetian* hearts not favourable to *Rome*, whence they have received so many grounds of displeasure; We have seen of late how much trouble a Nuncio of the *Popes* at *Venice* was like to have raised between the Duke and Senate about the *Barigello*, who had seized certain of the Nuncio's Servants when they had done some insolencies, though he said he knew not they were his Servants, and though things had been composed so, that the *Barigello* should not

appear

appear in the Church of St. *Mary*, where the Nuncio was to be till the last holy day of Christmass, yet upon that very day against the agreement, within the Church the Nuncio prevailed with the Duke to order him to go out, whereat the whole Senate were highly incensed that the Duke would do such a thing without their advice: and now the late grudge about the turning of the Chanpel of the *Po* another way, might produce something, were it not for the War of *Candia*, however there remains a cause of falling out hereafter.

The state of Genoa.

BUt 'tis time to speak of *Genoa*, formerly the dangerous Rival of *Venice*; History shews us the several & great Revolutions of Government in this City; it was by *Charles* the Great made an Earldom, and under one of their Earls won the Island *Corsica* from the *Saracens*, afterwards they became a Republick, they asked the Protection of *Charles* the sixth King of *France*, and having rejected this,

they

they submitted to the *Duke* of *Millan*, and then would have withdrawn from his Obedience, but he being too hard for them, they were kept under till the days of *Andrea Doria*, who having pacified the intestine divisions, instead of making himself Prince of it, as some think he might have done, he got them the liberty wherein they stand at present: This Republick is no more now what it hath been, that *Genoa* which hath formerly been so potent at Sea, as to beat the *Venetians*, take one of their *Dukes* prisoners, as they did in 1258. run victorious up and down, taking several Cities belonging to them, and block up *Venice* it self. Furthermore, in the year 1337. they Conquered the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, took the King and Queen prisoners, but restored them upon certain conditions; the reason is, because though the Countrey be the same, yet that people hath exceedingly degenerated; in those days every one minded the publick good, and the honour of the Nation, but now every one seeks his private ends and interests, let what will become of the publick, which is

is a meer folly, for when the publick goes to wrack, particular men cannot thrive very long; but if all particular men strive together to promote the publick, as they are members of that body, so they will find the benefit of it; when we have seen in the *Roman* Commonwealth men sacrifice States, Friends, Relations and Lives for the Republick, when nothing was so dear to them, but they could part with it for the good and safety of the Republick, then were all things in a flourishing condition, but when they began to seek their own, and every one to set up for himself, all things began to totter: How can the parts be saved, if the whole perish? The Bees and the Ants natural instinct goes beyond some Mens reason, they may be Hyerogliphicks to us, and their example teach us to be publick spirited Men, but it seems the *Genoese* are not so.

This Republick is in possession of what was formerly called *Liguria*, now 'tis *Riviera di Genoa*, from the City of *Genoa* to *Porto di Luna*, is called, *la Riviera di Levante*, or of the East, and from *Genoa* to *Monaco* 'tis *Riviera di ponente* of the West, which

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is a meer folly, for when the publick goes to wrack, particular men cannot thrive very long; but if all particular men strive together to promote the publick, as they are members of that body, so they will find the benefit of it; when we have seen in the *Roman* Commonwealth men sacrifice States, Friends, Relations and Lives for the Republick, when nothing was so dear to them, but they could part with it for the good and safety of the Republick, then were all things in a flourishing condition, but when they began to seek their own, and every one to set up for himself, all things began to totter: How can the parts be saved, if the whole perish? The Bees and the Ants natural instinct goes beyond some Mens reason, they may be Hyerogliphicks to us, and their example teach us to be publick spirited Men, but it seems the *Genoese* are not so.

This Republick is in possession of what was formerly called *Liguria*, now 'tis *Riviera di Genoa*, from the City of *Genoa* to *Porto di Luna*, is called, *la Riviera di Levante*, or of the East, and from *Genoa* to *Monaco* 'tis *Riviera di ponente* of the West, which

which makes 150. miles in length, though the breadth is hardly above 25. in any place: 'tis true, that upon the *ponente* is *Finale* belonging to the *Spaniards*, and three places to *Savoy*, but withal beyond *Monaco* it hath St. *Remy* and *Ventimiglia*; towards *Milan* they have *Gavi* with a strong Castle, and *Novi* not so good as the other; they have also the Island *Corsica*: Formerly Trade did much flourish in *Genoa*, but now *Legorn* hath spoiled it, as *Genoa* had spoiled that of *Savona*, they suffered extreamly by the late great plague that was there; so that to make themselves amends, and to keep up Trade, they have thought fit to bring in the *Jews*, by whose means they hope in time to bring Trading back again from *Legorn*; but others are in expectation to hear how they will agree, for between a *Jew* and a *Genoese* (setting aside baptism) there's no difference; and if they do 'twill pass for a wonder.

But not to be tedious upon this, I say, that although the City be very fair, and the Palaces stately, it is inhabited by men, then whom (few excepted) there cannot be worse, this is the opinion which

all

all other *Italians* have of them: There goes a ſtory, (which how true 'tis I will not diſpute) that when the *Grand Duke* firſt of all made *Livorno* a free Port, he gave leave of *Trading in't* to all Nations, as *Engliſh*, *French*, and to all Merchants, even out of *Turkey*, *Anch' ai Genoeſi*, having named ſeveral Nations, amongſt whom there were Infidels; thoſe of *Genoa* are put the laſt, as being the worſt of all. Indeed they are proud, revengeful in an extraordinary way, and enemies to ſtrangers, though out of that City they goe almoſt into all parts. I do not think there is a City in *Italy* where more miſchief is done than in this, one hears of it almoſt every day: In the way of Trade they are very skilful, yet ſo intereſſed, that there are thoſe in it who could prefer one 5 *s.* to twenty lives; their temper is ſuch, that they cannot agree with any ſort of people, nay, not ſo much as amongſt themſelves; their unſettledneſs appears in this: from *Earles* they came to *Conſuli*, from theſe to *Poteſta*, then to *Capitani*, to *Governatori*, *Luoghitenenti Rettori di populo*, *Abbati di populo*, *reformatori*, *protectori*, *duchi Nobili*, and *duchi Popola-*

polari. Civil Divisions ever regarded amongst them, for they are no sooner come under one sort of Government, but they wished for another. When *Francis* the first heard they would desire his Protection; *Let them go to Hell*, said he, *for I am not willing to meddle with such people.* The *Italian* Proverb of them is, *Mare senza pesci*, they have Seas without Fish, *Montagne senza legno*, Mountains and no Woods, *Huomini senza fede*, Men without faith, and *Donne senza vergogna*, women without shame; yet some brave men are come out of it.

The Government is Aristocratical, with a *Doge*, only for two years, who with the 8 *Governatori*, is called the *Signoria*, then the little Council of 100 men, and the great of 400. they have also the *Sindici* Over-seers of the actions of Governours, as Censors were at *Rome*: the *Doge* hath a Guard, which he of *Venice* hath not; their Forces are much decayed from what they were, when they reduced *Venice* to an extremity; still they continue to be good Sea-Souldiers, and keep eight Gallies, which do dispute the hand with those of *Malta*, but they

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are not esteemed by Land. 'Tis a thing which will seem an extravagancy, yet 'tis a truth, that there hath been persons, and there are now Families in *Genoa*, more esteemed abroad than is the Republick it self, and some are as rich, if not richer, who keep Gallies of their own. The Republick hath not above 200000 Crowns a year, because part of the Dominion, and of the Revenue, doth belong to the company of St. *George*, which is, as it were another Republick within that; yet some make the yearly Income greater; but confess that it doth not exceed the Charges. Silks are the Staple Commodity, which they work very well in Velvet, Plush, Satin, Taby, Taffitie, and the like Silk-works, which they send into all the Northern parts of *Europe*. St. *George* is their Champion, and the Red Cross is their Coat of Armes. The City as 'tis usual with Republicks, draws the best of the Land to it self, and hath destroyed the trading of other places, as *Savona* to advance its own; In it are a sort of *Virtuosi*, who call themselves *Addormentati*: the City is not strong.

The great secret of State of this Re-

publick hath been to keep Herself United to, and depend upon *Spain* since *Charles* the fifth; and *Philip* the 2d of *Spain* to keep them to her self, hath borrowed vast sums of monies, and assigned Lands in *Naples* and *Milan* for the payment; so that they must keep fair with the *Spaniard*, for fear of loosing the Principal; on the other side, as the King of *Spain* hath occasion of them, in relation to *Finale* and *Milan* not to loose them, he allows very great use for this money, so that they are even, and think to have over-reached one another; most of the monies which are currant being *Spanish* Coine, it shews there hath been very great dealings between them. However now the *Spaniard* hath much lost the Great Authority he had first amongst them, for formerly they so far depended upon him, that they might not receive within their City the Embassadour of any Prince but his own, who might come as he did often into the Consultations of the Senate; but now there is no such matter; they being exposed to so many alterations, there are no fixed nor constant maximes of policy among them.

them. I think 'tis a Republick great by Name, but small in Strength, despised by her Superiors, hated of her Equals, and envied by her Inferiors, which doth subsist only because one Neighbour would not have another to get it, the Interest of every one being to have it remain in a third hand; *Genoa* is very jealous of two of her Neighbours, *Savoy* and *Tuscany*, of the former, who hath aimed and attempted to bring her under his Yoake; of the latter, by reason of his pretentions to *Sarzana*, which formerly belonged to *Florence*, and of both, because she is odious to both, and that upon the account of State, and of private interest, they wish to see her brought low. In it are many Noble and Rich Families, as *Doria*, of which are the Marquess of *Toreglia*, Prince of *Melfy*, of the branch of *Andre Doria*, and the Duke of *Turfi*; *Spinola* the Marquess, and *de Duke* of *Sestri*, Marquess *de las Balbases*, a *Spanish* Title, because a *Grandee* of *Spain*; other Families are *Fischi*, *Grimaldi*, *Giustiniani*, *Pallavicini*, *Cibo*, *Carrieri*, *Imperiale*, and some others.

Now the Marquess *Hyppolito Centurioni* with his Ships and Gallies, is entred into the *French* service.

Of the state of Luca.

I See I do fall from an Ocean into Rivers, yet there is water enough for me to swim in, in some places, if not every where. You will not be troubled with hearing a long enumeration of places and Dominions; yet 'tis to be admired of the places I am now to speak of, not how they can preserve themselves; this the jealousie between, and the interest of their Neighbours, joyned with watchfulness on their side, doth for them; but how formerly in times of conquest they could free their necks from the yoke of their potent Neighbours. *Luca* is one of these places which hath sometimes been possessed by the *Goths*, the Emperours of *Constantinople*, the *Faseoli*, *Castrucci*, *Spinoli*, by the Family *Della Scala*, by the *Fiorentini*, *Pisani*, and by one *Carlo* of *Bohemia*, who having made a Bishop Governour of it, this Bishop received 25000 Crowns,

Crowns, and left them the liberty they are now in, their Dominion is extended upon few Mountains, not much inhabited, upon the top of which they have some strong holds, as *Monte Ignoso*, *Castiglione*, *Minuciano*, with *Camagiore* and *Via Reggio* upon the Sea; but the best they have is the City well seated, people'd, and fortified with the territory belonging to it, which produces abundance of *Olives*, the best of *Italy*; and the industry of the Inhabitants about Silk-works makes the City flourish and grow rich, every one in it hath something to live upon; there are in it a matter of 10 Families esteemed at least worth 20000 Crowns a year, others to the number of 30 have some 15000, some 10000 a year, and above 60 have been between 4 and 5000; the yearly Income of the Commonwealth comes to not much above 100000 Crowns, with a treasure they have esteemed a Million, with certain Plate and Jewels, which upon occasion might bring in some money.

They are governed by a Council of 150 of the chief Citizens, the City is divided into three parts, which they call *Tertiers*,

tieri, out of every one of which the General Council doth Elect three men, in all, Nine, called Senators, who joyned with the *Gonfaloniero* their head are called *la Signoria*: The Senators do command by turns every three dayes, the *Gonfaloniero* hath a bare Title, and nothing but the precedency above the rest, he is himself commanded by the Senators; he keeps his place but two months, then another is chosen, but within that time he may not go out of the Palace under pain of death: As for Warlike affairs they are in a good condition upon the defensive, their listed Militia's are of 18000 men, besides the City contains 30000 Inhabitants, and is constantly Guarded by 300 good Souldiers, whereof 200 are born in the City, and have the keeping of the Gates, Walls, and other places, the other 100 are all strangers, born 50 miles at least from the City; amongst them they admit no *Florentine*; their Captain is a Stranger too, the Palace is committed to their Guard, and under pain of death they may not come nigh the Walls. The City keeps a constant provision of mouth, and ammunition of War for whole 7. years;

years, their few ſtrong Holds are well provided, and their Souldiers well paid, which is the onely way to keep them upon duty and obedience; ſo that their care, and the plenty of their Territory about the City do ſupply the narrowneſs and littleneſs of it: In a word, if they come ſhort of other Princes and Republicks, as to the extent of dominions they have great advantages above them another way.

Firſt, they are not revengeful, as all the reſt of *Italians* are, they eaſily forgive offences received, which doth argue the goodneſs of their nature, upon this account they are a proverb to other *Italians*, *Riceve gli affronti come un' Lucheſe.* 2*dly*, their women are very modeſt, and inclined to chaſtity, and their young men ſober and temperate, ſome out of a Natural inclination, and others by virtue of the good order kept amongſt them: for 24 men, known to be of a good Life and Converſation are choſen out of the Council to be inſpectors over the manners of Youth, (this they call *conſigliodi diſcoli*) ſpecially of deboiſt perſons, and every time they meer, which happens once a year, every one puts in his Bill with the names

of those whom he hath found and observed to be unruly; and if the name of one be put in the little Box by the two thirds, that is by sixteen; herein is his sentence conteined of 3 years banishment, he must go out of the City the next day after he hath had warning, and within 3 dayes after out of the State: So that by the observation of these good Orders, God fits them the better for conversion and reformation, after the reading of Scriptures, which they are much inclined to: hence it is, that we have seen so many families leave *Luca* and go to *Geneva* to enjoy the liberty of the Gospel, and to make an open profession of the truth: after these commendations 'twere superfluous to say, they have also amongst them two sorts of *Virtuosi*, the one called *Oscari* and the other *Freddi*.

They might boast of the antiquity of their City, which was built by *Lucamon* King of *Toscany*, but they have a greater advantage which they glory in, that this is the first City of *Toscany*, which received the Christian Faith; though they be united amongst themselves,

selves, they are not sometimes without troubles at home, caused by the pride of their Clergy, which is so far protected by Popes, that *Urban* the 8th for their sake excommunicated the Republick. This people is Civil to Strangers, and very courteous to those who come into the City, yet so watchful over them, that they have the council *Della Vigilanza* to know what they come for, whence they come, and whether they go, not allowing them to wear swords in the streets without a special leave, yet they give them liberty to walk upon the Moat, by the Walls, and to view the same; in this City, the tongue is spoken in the purity of it.

All their maximes of State are onley about the defensive part, and how to preserve themselves from their great Neighbour the *Gran' Duke*, who would be glad to bring *Toscany* to her old limits that way, wherefore the Republick hath a strict correspondency with *Genoa*, which fears the same; however as I have observed, one Neighbour would cross another, if any thing was design'd against *Luca*: their care hath provided against open attempts, they being

in a readiness to oppose them, all what they must do, is to take heed of surprisals.

The state of San Marino.

San Marino is, *I* believe, the least Republick of *Europe*, when the Empire was transferred out of *Italy* into *Germany*; this City, with some others made her self a Republick, it lies on the West of the Dukedome of *Urbino*, under whose Dukes protection it remained, till this State fell to the Church, so that now it is shut up within the *Popes* Lands, and under their protection, yet some of them, specially the late *Alexander* the *7th*, have done what they could by promises and fair means to make their Nephews Princes of it, but she would not part with her liberty; and though the Pope could easily force them to it, yet he dares not, it being certain that the *Venetians*, and the *Grand Duke* would oppose him in it, specially now when *Italian* Princes do dislike Novelities and In-

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novations: when this Republick hath written to *Venice*, she hath called her *Carissima Sorella*, very dear Sister, a weak one indeed, for having but the City, and two or three Villages besides, her strength and riches are but small, which must be supplyed with their care of themselves, and watchfulness over their Neighbours.

Of the Petty Principalities

THis is all as *I* think, that needs be said upon the subject of great Princes, and Republicks of *Italy*. *I* must therefore now speak to the *Petty Princes*, or rather continue it, for the last Republick *I* have mentioned may have her place amongst these, rather than amongst the great ones: But *I* desire not to be mistaken, when I call some *petty Princes*, 'tis not to be understood as if they depended from others, and were not Sovereignes, for every way they act as such: *In* their Lands there is no appeal from their sentence, they dispose of Life and Death, as well as the greatest Princes, they Coyn, or may Coyn monies, Elect Officers, make Laws, and

and when there is occasion for it, they treat of Peace and Warre. I call them *Petty Princes*, because their States are but small in comparison of those whom I call great ones. 'Tis true, that there are very many who have the name of *Princes*, who are not Sovereigns, but are Subjects to others; the number of these all *Italy* over is between 75 and 80; between 90 and 100 have the titles of Dukes, and of Marquesses and Earls, there are above 500; but I speak onely of Sovereigns.

The Duke of *Della Mirandola* is one of this sort; the City *La Mirandola* is seated upon the confines of *Modena* towards the River *Po*; the family *Pico*, one of the most antient and famous of *Italy*, have been Lords of it, and of *Concordia* since the year, 1110 till now, that line failed in the year, 1637, and therefore another was invested of it by the Emperour.

Of this sort are also the Princes of *Bozzolo*, and of *Sabionetta*, the Dukes of *Guastalda*, and of *Novellara*, and the Marques of *Castiglione*; all within the State of *Mantoa*, as we said before, they have been such for these 100 years past, and

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are all of the family *Gonzaga*, he of *Salionetta* excepted, which in the year 1540 was given with a Daughter, and Heir to General *Caraffa*, and now in the hands of a *Spaniard*.

The principality of *Monaco* is another, this is a ſtrong City by Nature, ſeated upon the *Mediterranean*, between *Nizzadi*, *Provenza* and *Genoa*, this makes the Prince more conſiderable than any other of his ſort; there is an indifferent harbour; the way up to it is very ſteep and difficult, and ſeveral Guards to ſpeak with, before one can get to it. At the comming in there is a broad place with a proſpect as pleaſant as can be; within few miles from it, is another place, good enough, called *Menton*, depending from the ſaid principality: there was in *Monaco* a *Spaniſh* Garriſon, but the late Prince having partly by a ſtratagem, and partly with help from the *French* driven it out, he deſired the *French* protection, and now there is in it a *French* Garriſon, he is Duke *de Valentionis*, and Peer of *France*, whoſe coin is currant in that Kingdom. This Princes family is *Grimaldi*, who derive their pedegree from *Grimald*,

Son.

Son of *Pipin* King of *Austrasia*, and Brother to *Charles Martel*: this *Pipin* as they say, gave the Lordship to *Grimald*, in the year 713. but they were declared Princes in the year, 1411. Cardinal *Grimaldi* yet living, and brother to the late Duke, was in great part the occasion of the admitting in of the *French*, induced to it by the persecution which the *Barberini* suffered from the *Pope* at the secret instigations of *Spain*, and by the protection which the *French* gave to that family, whose passionate creature this *Grimaldi* is, and also by the interest he hath gotten in *France*, to be Arch-bishop of *Aix*, and other good benefices he enjoys: He is of an active spirit, therefore he hath been much spoken of at *Rome*; their family, or a branch of it is named amongst the greatest in *Genoa*, where some of the name are admitted to the highest charges: the present Prince of *Monaco* is not much passed twenty five, he hath married Marshall *Grammonts* Daughter, who prefers the pleasure of *Paris*, to the Soveraignty of *Monaco*.

Mussa is in *Toscany*, seated part of it at the bottom of a great Mountain, part upon

upon the Mountain, and higheſt of all is the Princes Caſtle, yet he is a building a Palace in the lower Town, and 'tis almoſt finiſhed, this is but a Poſt from *Sarzana*: The family *Malaſpina* poſſeſſed it a long while, till by the marriage of *Ricarda Malaſpina*, with *Lorenzo Cibo*, it came to this family, becauſe ſhe was the Heir of it: They were Marqueſſes till the year, 1499. at which time *Innocent* the 8*th* of the ſame family being *Pope*, *Alberico Cibo*, was by the Emperour *Maximilian* made Prince of the Empire. *Boniface* the 9*th* was of the ſame family, which coming from *Grecia*, where they had poſſeſſed ſome Iſlands, Principalities, and other Territories, they ſeated in *Genoa*, there is a Cardinal of the name and family.

Maſſarana is in *Monferrat*, not far from *Vercelli*, this Principality hath been in the hands of the family *Scala*, but in the 1568. 'twas bought from them by the *Ferreri*, who are at preſent in poſſeſſion of it.

Upon 15 miles from *Genoa* is another Sovereignty, the Marqueſate of *Torreglia*, 'twas given by *Charles* the 5*th* to *Andrea Doria*,

Doria, who had left the service of *Francis* the first King of *France*, and done many eminent services to the Emperour; the same family doth also enjoy the principality of *Melfey* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, but not in Sovereignty: This family *Doria* hath for 500 years been esteemed in *Genoa*, one of the most noble, if not the first of that Republick: The head of the family is young at present, there are two branches of it flourishing in *Genoa*, who hath each of them a stately Palace, though one is more antient and more sumptuous than the other.

Another principality is, *Piombino*, in the Island *Alba*, whereof part belongs to the *Grand Duke*, as *Cosmopoli*, &c. Prince *Ludoviso* hath it now, it was bought for his Father by his Uncle *Gregory* the 15th of the same family; not long since the Princes Father died in *Sardegna*, where he was Vice-King for *Spain*, having layed before noble and stately foundations of a Palace in *Piazza Colonna* at *Rome*. This Prince underwent his Fathers displeasure unto the time of his death by reason of a strong passion he had

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for a mean person in the Island: At present there is Cardinal *Ludovise* great *Penitentiere* of the Roman Church, which is one of the most eminent dignities of it: he is of *Bologna* of this Family by the side of late Prince *Ludovisie*'s Mother; he is a man of no considerable parts.

Speaking of this sort of Princes, I say nothing of Strength, Riches and Policy, things so inconsiderable with them, that they are to be not so much as mentioned; all are under the protection of those within whose dominions their principalities stand, or of some other; the inconsiderableness of others, and the affection of their few Subjects are a security to them, and happy are they if satisfied with their condition; they are free of fears and of ambition; as they have little, so they have little to care and to answer for; they have the satisfaction to command, and not be commanded, and enjoy what sweetness there is, giving Law, without being exposed to the inconveniencies of it.

But now we must come to those principalities which are seated within the state of the Church, and first to those which belong to the family *Colonna*, now divided

vided into two branches, one of which hath the Principality of *Carbognana*, whose eldest Son hath married his Sister, who is at present the head of the other branch, whereof however the late Cardinal *Colonna*, who died at *Finale*, attending on the Empress, and who was Protector of the Empire, was the chief, and with his frugality acquitted the debts, and cleared the state of his family: his Nephew *Don Lorenzo Colonna* (who hath married the *Mancini*, one of *Mazarins* Neeces) commonly called *Conteſtabile Colonna*, because he is High Constable of the Kingdome of *Naples*, is now the head of that branch, a man whose Inclination agrees better with the *French* than with the *Spanish* temper; yet he must keep fair with these by reason of his place, and of the Land he hath in *Naples*: his free and frequent conversation with the Duke of *Crequi* Ambassadour to *Rome*, gave the *Spaniards* much jealousie, some think he left *Rome* in part upon this account, but the aversion he had for the late *Popes* family by reason of some discontents he had received from them, was a sufficient ground to oblige him to leave *Rome*

for

for two years time, as he did lately; he is a man who lives in his pleasure, yet he hath so High and so Noble a spirit, that he could not stoop to the *Popes* Kinsmen, as few others did; he hath a brother called *Don Domenico Colonna*, and is Sovereign of *Pagliano* and Prince of *Marini*, the antiquity of his family is well known: their Arms are a *Colonna*, or a Pillar, crowned because *Stefano Colonna* the *Roman* Senator did crown *Lewis* of *Bavaria* Emperour, in the year 1260. they say they come from *Columnius* an antient *Roman*.

The *Rival*, and antient Enemy of this family hath been *Casa Ursini*, most Noble and very antient, of which was that proud *Nicholas* the 3*d*; this family hath been much decayed in her state, though of late 'twas somewhat restored by the means of some rich Matches made with other families, which yet for want of Children may at last prove disadvantagious: Their Palace at *Rome* in *Monte Jordano* is very antient: the eldest of the family is now Cardinal *Ursini* Protector of *Poland*, *Portugal*, and Com-protector of the *French* Interest at the Court of *Rome*; a man of no extraordina-

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ry parts, who not long since was obliged to take a journey to *Paris* to pacifie that Court, angry with him for not acting according to directions in the business of *Crequi* at *Rome*; and therefore had taken from him his pension of 5000 Crowns a year, and bestowed it upon Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, who being dead, *Ursini* posts away to *Paris*, and obtains his desire; the head of this family is now the Duke of *Bracciano*, who is also *Conte di Petiglione*, two Soveraignties belonging to the family by an antient gift of some *Popes* for services done to the Church; this Duke is the head of the antient Nobility of *Rome*, as all other *Roman* Princes do, he stands much upon the points or punctillio's of ceremonies; hence it is, that lately he had a kind of a *Broglio*, or falling out with Cadinal *Sforza*, though some think it was not so much his fault as the Cardinals; he hath a younger Brother, called *Don Ielio Ursini* Prince of *Vicovaro*.

Another antient family is that of *Cezarini* Duke of the name, and Prince of *Fonsano*, and of *Ardea* he derives his pedigree from the *Cezars*, the family, as to a Male

Male Issue, is like to be extinct: the late Duke, a man of 50000 crowns a year could afford his Cook 4 *Giulius*, two shillings for his dinner, and no more. He appeared so high for the *French* in the business of *Crequi*, out of an enmity he had for the *Popes* Relations, that he was obliged to retire into the Kingdom of *Naples* till the peace was made; he was one of those whom *Italians* call *Matti porta a casa*, he died lately, and left three or four Daughters in Monasteries, who had made no profession; his brother the Abbot *Cezarini* hath succeeded him, a man of a most loose and dissolute life; when I came from *Rome* he was upon marrying a Lady of *Milan*, without hopes on his side, by reason of his former deboistness of having any Children; yet with what he had before he is worth 60000 Crowns a year. *Rignano* is a Principality belonging to the Duke of *Muti*, of a very antient family, for they derive themselves from *Mutius Scevola*, and a proof of it is the possession of *Campi Mutii*, wherein *Porsenna* was encamped, given by the Senate to *Mutius* and his posterity: The present Duke is not married, though he begins to

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be antient, he hath much squandered his state with Gaming and Women, he hath a brother a Prelate, and another called Marquess *Muti*, a very ingenious person to my knowledge, and of good parts, their Palace as that of the forenamed family is in *Rome*.

I will make no further mention of the Sovereignty of *Farneze*, I said what was fit to be known of it speaking of the Duke of *Parma*, the Cardinal of that name is Prince of it. I will only name the Marquess *di Monte* another Sovereign, and the Noble Family of *Caetani* who have a stately Palace at *Rome*. Of this Family is the Prince of *Caserta*, who for an unhappy business was obliged to fly from *Rome*, where he was lookt upon as the best qualified of all other Princes, as to his personal worth.

Pope *Clement* the 8th a *Florentine*, in the year, 1595, bought the Marquesate of *Meldola*, and gave it to his Nephew *Ottavio Aldobrandini*, which is a Sovereignty; this family hath lived at *Rome* with great pomp, and much splendour, where they have three or four fair Palaces: now there being no Males, the great

Heir

Heir of that family is the Princess of *Rossano* married first to the late Prince *Borgheſe* his Father that now is, and after to Prince *Panfilio*, Nephew to *Innocent* the 10th, of which she is now a widow; this match with those two families is like in time to cause great clashings between them, about a clause in the contract of marriage with the former; both are very potent, for *Borgheſe* hath 300000 Crowns a year, and *Panfilio* little less: So we are now come to late families raised at *Rome* by *Popes*.

Urbanus the 8th, subject born to the *Grand Duke*, by the means of his long Reign: had time enough to settle his family *Barberini*, he had three Nephews, *Francesco*, whom he made Cardinal *Padrone*, that is Master, *Antonio* who for a while was the head of the Family, but desired at last to be made a Cardinal, and *Don* Thaddeo: *Francesco* was made *Arciprete* of St. *Peters* Church. *Antonio* of St. *Mary* the greater, and High Chamberlain, and *Don* Thaddeo *Prefetto*, or General of the Church; this last being made the head of the family, they bought him the principality of *Paleſtrina*, formerly

merly *Praneste*, which is now in the hands of his younger Son, the eldest having voluntarily resigned his Birth-right to his brother to be made a Cardinal, who at present is called Cardinal *Carlo Barberini*, he is the third of the family who hath that Dignity, which is very rare at the same time; and that which is the more to be admired is, that he was Elected by *Innocent* the 10th, who made it his task to persecute and destroy this family; but this was the work of *Donna Olympia*, who recollecting her self, and being affraid least the next *Pope* might prove a friend of the *Barbarines*, whose faction was then potent, and so retaliate the *Panfilio's* what they had done to the *Barbarines*, she thought it fit to reconcile both families, and this Cardinals Cap was the Seal of that Reconciliation; though this family was persecuted by *Innocent*, it is still flourishing; the Prince of *Palestrina* being already in possession of a vast Estate, and in expectation of a great addition to it, after the death of his Uncle *Francesco*, who is very rich, and at present the Dean of the Colledge of Cardinals, and titular Protectour of

of the *English* Interest at *Rome*; but how much more would he get if he were made a *Pope*, as he pretends to it in case of a *Sede Vacante*: this Princes Palace is in as good air, and as pleasant a seat as any in *Rome* nigh to *Monte Cavallo*, which *Innocent* was upon taking from them, had not Cardinal *Grimaldi* prevented it by setting the Armes of *France* over the Gate.

But we must come to the late reigning family of the *Ghigi's*, that Pope at first was seemingly unwilling to do any thing for his relations, but at last he was as busie as any of his Predecessours had been, to raise them up; to this purpose he bought, as we said before, the Principality *Farneze*, but afterwards he parted with it for the reasons before expressed. He perswaded *Father Oliva*, the General of the Jesuites, to enduce those of their Colledge who had Authority to sell him the best land belonging to it, to the summ of 100000 Crowns, under pretence of getting monies to pay their debts, and this was bought for *Don Augustino*, whereat the Jesuites were much grieved, when they saw their fault at a distance, then did he secretly tamper to get those of *San*

Marino to receive a Prince over them; then did he proffer to Duke *Muti* for his principality of *Rignano* a Cardinals Cap, and a great summe of money; and after the death of Duke *Cezarini*, he offered the Cardinals Cap to his brother and heir with 200000 Crown, if he would give one of his Neeces that are in the Cloister to *Don Sigismond* the youngest of his Nephews, and resign the principality, but he not willing to marry, nothing of this could take effect; however the head of his family is provided for, because the Noble Family of Prince *Savelli* being exceedingly decayed, want of monies obliged him, who now is to hearken after the proposals, made by the *Popes* Agents, to sell his principality of *la Rizza* and *Albano*, which he did not absolutely, reserving for many years to come for himself and his heirs (having already a fine young Son) to enter again into his right and possession, paying the summe received, which there is no great probability as yet to effect, except in case of some very great match, or of a *Popedom* in their family, which yet is not very probable, though at present there be a Cardinal of the family,

ly, who had some things left him by Cardinal *Mont' alto*; however the *Pope* is dead, and *Don Maria*, who at *Rome* ruled the rost, hath soon followed him, and a spend-thrift of no parts is left after them; the present *Pope* as yet hath gotten no principality for his Nephews, and he hath hardly had time to do it; what he will do hereafter time will reveal.

All Princes and Republicks in *Italy* do homage, or pay tribute either to the *Pope* or to the *Emperour*, except the *Venetians*, who yet for some Islands pay a tribute to the *Turk*. Namely, first, the King of *Spain* is *Feudatario* of the *Pope* for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Emperour for the Dukedom of *Milan*. The Duke of *Savoy* depends from the Emperour of *Piemont* and *Monferrat*, by virtue of which last he is Vicar of the Empire. The Grand Duke acknowledges the *Pope* for *Radicofani*, the King of *Spain* for *Siena*, and the Emperour for *Florence*, and the rest. The Republick of *Genoa* doth homage to the Emperour for her whole state, the Duke of *Mantoa*, who is also Vicar of the Empire, by reason of *Monferrat* to the Emperour, for what he hath of

Moferrat, and for the *Mantoan*. The Duke of *Parma* to the *Pope* for *Parmas Piacenza*, *Castro* and *Rocciglione*. The Duke of *Modena* to the Emperour for his whole state, so doth the Republick of *Luca*.

The Prince of *Monaco* doth homage to the *French* King for what he hath in *Fance*. The Duke *Della Mirandola*, the Princes *di Piorulino*, and all those of the family *Gonzaga*, with the Marquesses *di Massa* and *Torreglia*, depend from the Empire, as due from the *Pope*, the Republick of *San Marino*, the Prince *di Massarano*, the Duke *di Itracciano*, and Earl *di Petigliano*, the Marquesses *di Moldolo* and *di Monte*, and the Princes *di Palestrina*, *di Paglisno*, and *di Farneze*.

Now the difference of those Papal and Imperial *Fiefs* or *Feudi*, consists in this chiefly, that most of the last pass by succession from the line male, to the female, but 'tis not so off the others, for the lawful masculine line hapning to faile, 'tis presently devolved to the Church, as in cases of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*.

Thus far have we spoken in particular of the several Princes and Republicks of *Italy*; now I have some few things to observe

serve in general, relating to the whole Nation: First, their Language, which is a corruption of the Latin, caused by the irruption of the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Vandals* and *Lombards*, who setling in it for a while, and using their own Languages, the Countrey Tongue, which was in *Latin*, came to grow corrupt by degres, and to be somewhat forgotten, and which is a mixture of the *French*, and some of the *Spanish*, because these Nations have been there with their Armies, and have ruled over parts of it for a long while; hence it is, that about *Piemont*, *Milan*, and *Genoa*, they speak a corrupt *Italian*, which hath most of the *Provencal* in it, and except in part the State of the *Pope*, in *Toscany* and at *Lenca*, the right *Italian* is spoken no where else; I do not speak as to the pronunciation, which is very different, at *Genoa* 'tis pronounced much with the lips, in *Naples* with the teeth, in *Venice* with the palat; and the *Florentine* pronunciation is well enough known, however the right *Italian* language, or *Tuscan*, as they usually call it, is very Sententious, and full of Judicious and Significative proverbs; 'tis very sweet, and doth abound

in fine and civil expressions, as for instance, if I desire to speak with one, the first words he will say to me will be these, *Che comanda VS*, what are you pleased to command me; if they answer to a question, 'tis in these words, *Da servitore non lo so*, as I am your Servant I cannot tell; If I desire one to do any thing for me, he will say, *Sara Servito*, I will do it; or if I buy any thing, and we cannot agree about the price, the parting words will be to me, *Mi spiace di non poter servirla*, I am sorry I cannot afford it, and the like; all which expressions in their Original, have more of civility then in any other Language. I need not to penetrate into the sincerity of their discourses, which is not material to the purpose. I know the saying, *The* French *do not speak as they write, nor the* Italians *as they think*: I speak only as to the sweetness of the Language, whereupon one said, *If I was to speak to Senators or Ambassadors, I would do it in* Spanish, *if to Souldiers in* High Dutch, *to Courtiers in* French, *but to Ladies in* Italian. There is indeed a kind of excess in their civil expressions, for they use to say, *Schiavo di V. Sigria*, I am your slave in-

stead

ſtead of your ſervant; and the word *Voſignoria*, your Lordſhip is ordinary with them; ſo is the title of *Molto magnifico* given to inferiour perſons, as that of *Illuſtriſſimo* to thoſe of a higher quality, yet 'tis given to many who are no great matter: a ſtranger with them is preſently *Sigre Conte*, or *Barone*, or at leaſt *Sigre Cavaliere*; they call men by the Chriſtian name, *Sigre Franceſco*, *Gionanni*, *Francis*, *John*, when they ſpeak to them, onely adding the word *Don*, to thoſe of the higheſt quality, as *Don Domenico*, *Don Lelio*, yet they ſpeak in the third perſon, when 'tis with one whom they will ſhew reſpect to, thus, *Dove vanno loro ſigri*, but in *Naples* 'tis uſual with men of the higheſt quality to do't in the ſecond perſon of the ſingular, *thou*, as *Che fai*, *ſei tu ſtato*, which with other Nations is a ſign either of great familiarity, or of much contempt. Neither muſt I omit here how fit and proper *Epithets* they give to things and places, as in the caſe of every one of their Chief Cities, ſo they call *Roma la ſanta*, the holy, according to their opinion, *Venice*, *la Ricca* the rich, *Padoa*, *la Dotta* the learned, *Ravenna*, *l' Antiche* the antient, *Fio-*

renza la bella, the fair, *Milan la grande* the great, *Genoa la superba* the proud or stately, *Bologna la grossa* the fat, *Naples, la Gentile* the Gentile, *Capua la delicioſa*, the delicious, *&c.*

I will not inſiſt upon their cuſtomes, which is a ſubject of which many have treated, however by the by let me ſay in few words, that in their diviſion of the artificial day, they differ from the general practice of *Europe*, excepting only (as far as I could obſerve) *Prague* in *Bohemia*, inſtead of our reckoning from 12 to 12 hours, they reckon from 24 till 24, and their firſt hour begins at night an hour after Sun ſetting, wherein they imitate the Jews, who after the method of the creation reckoned the night afore the day, for ſaith ſcripture, *The Evening and the Morning was the firſt day, the ſecond day, &c.* Another cuſtome of *Italians* wherein they differ from us, is in the ſign we uſe to make with the hand to thoſe whom we call, for here we do it with our fingers upwards, but there it would be taken for an affront, my hand muſt be downwards, and move gently when I make a ſign with it; here we take that to be the

upper-

upperhand which is next to the wall, but there they judge of it by the hand it self, the right hand though next to the Chanel is with them the upper hand; and in the case of riding in a Coach, a place in the Boot in their way, is before one in riding backwards, but in *Venice* the left hand in the *Gondola* is the upper hand; but when three walk together, the middle is the most honourable, hence it is, that when they walk upon a place to and fro, they are careful to let every one take his turn in the middle: A strange way they have to retort affronts upon others, which is, to break a bottle of Ink upon one, specially women, or else over the door of the house, so that it remains spotted with it, 'tis the greatest note of infamy that can be laid upon any one. *Italians*, both men and women, have a general and a natural inclination to play upon the Gittar; and I admired sometimes to hear those play who never learned at all; the very inferiour sort of people without any direction, only with a constant application do get it, and they are so taken with it, that as they travel upon the high way from town to town, they play upon it; and at the same

time

time to play, to sing and to dance, is usual with them.

I cannot well omit to speak some few words about their temper and manners, but before I do't, some passage I observed somwhere there (for in things of this nature I name no places nor persons) which gave occasion to my following reflection, how fit it is for Princes to be careful what manner of men they bring about their persons in private. When a Prince comes into a place of retirement, he puts off that Majesty and Gravity which he hath when he appears abroad; they are but men, and so they must allow themselves some liberty in their Chambers when they are withdrawn from the croud of men and business. Now if when they are thus retired to be private, every action of theirs, and every word they speak be *viewed* abroad by those who are present, in this the condition of Princes of all men in the world were the most miserable, *Quisque suos patitur manes*; every one hath his failings, and the frailties of humane nature, so that Wisdom consists in the concealing of it, and not in the not having of it, besides that *Regna sapit omnibus horis*: So that it

stands

standers by who see things, spread them abroad, then additions and glosses are made upon't, and as the actions and words of Princes are exactly taken notice of, so every one passes his judgment upon them. How necessary is it then for Princes to have no rash or giddy, but wise, sober and discreet men to wait on them in their retirements, who without being told, may know whats fit to be spoken, and what to be concealed, those things which may give a good opinion of a Prince must be published, but not the contrary, or else I say, that those who have the honour to be admitted into the presence of Princes, so as to be private to their retirement from the croud of affairs, to ease, chear up, and refresh their spirits, if they allow their tongue as much liberty as they do to their ears and eyes, they are very unfaithful or very imprudent, and so not fit to be in such places. Certainly *Domitian* himself never told, that when he was in his Closet, he was busie about killing of flies; the first report of it came undoubtedly from some other hands, which brought a great deal of disparagement upon him; I know in this he took his pleasure, as *Nero*, and other Emperours

perours took it, in the company of *Buffoons*, and things of that nature; but they forgot that their honour was to have been to them dearer then their pleasure. I do not deny however, but that one friend may sometimes whisper in the ear of another private things of this nature, and impart in secret some such things to them as they have seen, for this manner of reposing confidence in the discreetnes of another is a strict bond of friendship: I disapprove here those who speak at random, before those whom they scaree ever saw, whom they do not know well, or when they speak it unseasonably, for there is a time for all things, and to know it is not the least part of wisdom.

But upon the subject of the nature of *Italians*, I must observe that the people of those parts which are on this side the *Appennini* Mountains, as *Piemont*, *Monferrat*; all *Lombardy*, part of the state of *Venice*, and *la Romagna*, have some things of the *French* humour, but on the other side, as the *Genoeses*, *Tuscans*, *Romans* and *Napolitans*, they have much of the *Spanish* temper; however they are all in General, dextrous, subtil and prudent, those who

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are good, know all the tricks that are put upon men; there is no leading of them by the nose, neither will they be easily cheated, but they who are bad apply their whole wit to hide it; so that one is easily mistaken in them, and 'tis very difficult to know them well, but after a long dealing and conversing with them.

Italy the Mother of Arts and Sciences, I look upon as a nurse, who hath vertue in one breast, and vice in another, and as ever one extream joyns with another, so best and worst are to be learned there; this is according to the constitution of the people, who when they be good they are very good, when bad extraordinarily bad, *Corruptio optimi est pessima*; however a judicious man will benefit himself by the good which there he will meet withall, but also like an experienc'd Artist he will extract wholesome cordials out of the worst of poisons; though the corruption of humane nature is so strong, that it inclines and draws us to evil, rather then to good, but the beams of grace, the light of nature, and the testimony of ones conscience, may teach us the right way.

However, to speak first of the best, I

say

say the conversation of *Italians* is not easie to be had, but when it is, 'twill be found sweet, civil and obliging, very circumspect not to give offences to any one in the Company, or any one else that hath a relation to it, ever respectful one to another; the greatest familiarity doth not make them recede from a courteous carriage, so that such persons have one of the best qualifications to make friends, for friendship without respect is not to be cared for. Furthermore a thing very commendable in point of conversation is, that though they be many in company, they never speak together, which is the Vice of some other Nations, and fit only for Children; let a man make a discourse never so long, they will hear him quietly, and not interrupt him, as they will not be interrupted when it is their turn to speak; 'tis true, that most of them speak rationally and judiciously, and as they are a people who love exceedingly their liberty, for which cause their Princes, to keep them under, have built so many strong Holds and Castles, so the ordinary subject of their discourses are affairs of state, which by a constant custome of speaking

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and hearing of, they have brought themselves to an ordinary knowledge in, as the example of that poor Fisherman at *Naples*, *Mas Anello* so cunningly blowing up the fire of that Insurrection, which made so much noise in the world, doth demonstrate; upon this account, Books treating of any state revolutions are so strictly forbidden them, knowing that this is to add fewell to the fire; and in some places, where most of all Princes are jealous of their Authority, as in *Naples*, discourses of this nature, if known, are severely punished.

But there are two extremities upon this subject, some Princes of the *East* and *North east* parts of the world, namely the *Tartars* and *Muscovites*, keep their people in a beastly ignorance, and have exiled all manner of Arts and Sciences out of their Dominions, and this under pretence, that hereby having not so much the use of reason, they are not apt to cavil at, or to disobey the orders of their Superiours, as do other Nations, who have more knowledge and understanding; but this hath no more consequence, then if one should say, meat and drink are not to be used, because

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there are gluttons and drunkards; because there are sometimes knowing and judicious subjects, who are disobedient, 'tis not to be concluded, that knowledge and judiciousness are the cause of disobedience, so far from it, that these letting a man know of his duty, do fence against any thing that goes about to withdraw him from it: Pride, Ambition, Discontents, Covetousness, Cruelty and the like, are the causes of Risings against Lawful Authority, and not Wisdom and Understanding, so far from it, that where they are not, the use of reason is suspended, and men act onely out of a natural impetuosity, and out of a sensitive principle, wherein they differ nothing from beasts; so that the same ignorance and violent motion which leads them to obedience upon the lesse shadow and fancy, will spur them to disobedience; and one alone, if not quickly taken off, is enough to turn away whole thousands, for who can more easily be misled, then he who receives falsehoods for truths, and who hath not a spirit to discern good from evil; these are Mules, which will as soon kick their Master as a stranger, or like those Elephants,

who

who having once felt the smart of a wound, in spite of their Rider turned from upon the Enemyes, and fell foul upon their own Army: I am further of the mind, that ignorance is the great prop of Rebellion; for as there is nothing so natural to men as the desire of liberty, and that there is nothing in men to oppose the motions and desires of it; and seeing they obey onely out of fear of punishment, upon all occasions, they will embrace any means let them be never so wrong, to attain it: Like Lyons and Tygers used to be chained up, when they break loose they tear and devour any thing that lies in their way, and like violent torrents they over-flow all, from the fury of such people, *Libera nos Domine.* As to those barbarous Countries where they have such Erronious principles, contrary not only to reason, but also to common sense, they bear the punishment of this fault, for all their subjects are generally incapable to do them service, having neither parts nor abilities to effect it; and in the managing of their Warres, which is the chief thing they minde, they are obliged, specially in *Muscovite*, to

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get Officers of other Nations to carry it on, their own Subjects, few excepted, wanting knowledge and experience in it. Arts and Sciences, not only make a Kingdom flourishing, but also do fit Subjects to obey and to command; over-rules with the use of reason, that bruitish impetuosity which is in some men, not only teaching them their duty, but also strengthning it in them with reasons & examples.

But 'tis not enough to disapprove this singular errour, for there is another extream to be condemned; 'tis the too great curiosity of private men. I know particular persons are concern'd in publick transactions, as being members of that politick body, which can never fare well or suffer, but they must be sensible of it: yet some more and some less, according as they are eminent in their places, and called to it by the favour of their Prince, for every one must know his station, and act within that sphear, *Ne ultra crepidam*, for if every one were his own carver, and had that share which he wishes in the Government, then all would command, and there would be none to obey, so that all would degenerate into a confusion and Anarchy,

narchy. Men ought to refer themselves to their Rulers, for the direction and steering of publick Affairs, knowing that God who hath called them to it, hath not been wanting to endue them with necessary abilities: Therefore those subjects are to be blamed, who would penetrate into the secrets of Princes, and dive into their Councils, and consequently cavil at their actions, and censure their proceedings: they see indeed the effects, but know not the causes, which if they knew, they would be satisfied and approve of them, if they were capable to understand them, but oftentimes they will judge of an undertaking by the event, which is a great mistake; as we could give examples of designs, which were as rationally grounded as could be, carried on with all imaginable dexterity and secretsie, yet miscarried upon the point of execution; on the other side, rash attempts managed with the greatest imprudence in the world have proved successful: What then? were the former to be blamed, or the latter commended? No, we must look upon men to be no more than instruments, if according to the reason they have, they

make

make use of the means afforded them, 'tis all that may justly be required from them, for success of things depends upon the over-ruling hand of providence, which disposes of all things as it seems good unto her: It is true, 'tis said a successful man was never a fool, nor an unfortunate a wise man; but this is a vulgar errour, as well as this other, the strongest is never the traytour. Out of this I deduce, that for the most part 'tis beyond the sphear and capacity of subjects, specially those of an inferiour Orb, to judge aright of the actions of Princes; they have certaine motions whereby they act, which are invisible to particular men, they are acted by an intelligence which is hidden from the eyes of the commonalty; and as they stand nearer to God, so they receive more of his influences: But some sort of people do proceed to an excess of unreasonableness, in that as much as in them lies, they will not give Princes that liberty which they allow themselves, as if they were Servants more then Masters of the Sate; 'tis true, certain faults of Princes are more unexcusable than those of private men, because by these last, none

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but themselves or few else do suffer, but by the former, whole Nations are sometimes the worse, and share not only in the disgrace before men, but also in the punishment from God; however a distinction is to be made; some failings are natural to them as men, and others as they are Princes, and neither are to be examined by subjects, for to their *great Master* they must fall or stand.

Now I must return to my principal subject, to some other virtues practised by *Italians*, which are sobriety, and frugality; I will joyn them together, for they have a great dependancy one upon another, only the latter is of a larger extent. Sobriety is a thing so much in request amongst them, that with them 'tis accounted to be, as indeed it is, a great shame to practise any thing contary to it, specially in point of drinking; so that to call one there *Imbriaco*, a drunkard, 'tis to give him one of the greatest affronts he can receive; and 'tis a certain truth, that they are very temperate in their meat and drink, and whole diet, as I will give some particulars by and by upon the point of their frugality; in the mean while some

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make a doubt, whether their Sobriety be an effect of their temper, or of the Climate: I confess in hot Countries, such as this is, men have no such stomack to their meat, as they have in those which are colder, and though they had, the stomack could not have the facility to digest much of their aliments, which are very nourishing, and some of a hard concoction; however this argues nothing at all against *Italians* sobriety in matter of drink, for the hotter the Climate is, the more apt men are to drink, and no Nation hath more enticements to it than they, if by nature they were inclined to it, they having as rare and excellent Wines as *Europe* can afford; but since they forbear, I will not deprive them of that praise which they deserve for this virtue; as for eating, they have as delicious meats as can be wished for, which are both pleasant to the palate, and light to the stomack, in the use of which they forbear all excesses.

This will better appear by their frugality, which yet some who are used to misname every thing, and give the worst construction to all, do call covetousness, when 'tis known, that in certain things no

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Nation is more Noble and more splendid than they are; this frugality is extended to their cloaths and diet, they go very plain, men of vast Estates, yea, their very Princes, except upon extraordinary occasions, very seldom exceed 10. ponunds in a Sute of Clothes. I know Princes and Cardinals, who when they have received a present of sweet Meats, Fowls and the like, send it to their Confectioners, Poulterers, *&c.* who by it of them; this here would be look't upon as the effect of a miserable and covetous nature, but there 'tis their way; from the highest to the lowest they are very private in their diet, there is no coming to them at such hours, and the meanest of the people would not be interrupted by the best man in the Land: the most part of Noblemens Servants do not diet in their houses, but are allowed bord wages instead of it.

But *Italians* delight in rich and fine Coaches drawn by stately horses, and to be attended by a number of *Staffieri*, or men in Liveries; Coaches of 800 or 1000 pounds are not rare there, and there is never a King in *Europe* that hath Coaches so rich as hath the Grand Duke, and the

Duke

Duke of *Parma*, the formers Coat of Armes, which are the six Balls, are set over head in his Coach, for every Ball a precious Stone, valued at 10000 *l. Sterl.* and if we will believe them, the whole Coach comes to 40000*l*. Further they delight in buildings, and stately Palaces built up after the Symmetry, and exact Architecture; So in Gardens and Water-houses, Ornaments and Furnitures of Houses, as Statues and Pictures; hence it is that they are so passionately in love with Pictures, that they will give any thing for one when they like it, 4 or 500*l* for one Picture is no extraordinary rate amongst them; there hath been some Princes who have offered in Siver the weight of some Statues, and could not have them; in a word, *Italians* delight in those things which make a shew. 'Tis not to be admired that in *Italy* they are such lovers of Pictures, for that Art is there brought to the height of its perfection, and that Country is absolutely the best, if not the only School of it, where within this age or thereabouts, have flourished those Eminent Picture-drawers who have filled *Europe* with their Names, but most of their

Works

Works are safely and dearly kept there, whether they be in *Fresco* or in *Oleo*: what excellent Artists have been *Bassano*, *Titiano*, *Michel Angelo*, *Rafaele di Urbino*, *Tintoretto*, *all the Caracci*, *Coregio*, *Paola Veronese*, *Dominichino*, *Lan Franco Guarcini*, *Guido Reny*, and a great number of others, who excelled, almost every one in something; some in invention, others in the mixture of Colours, in the proportions, exactness of Features, and after the natural; and in designing, drawing and touching or perfecting: in great or short, in *Mignatura* with the Pen or Pencil, or otherwise, Fights, Land-skips, Flowers, Perspectives, Sea-prospects, great and small Figures, and in other wayes and things depending upon that curious profession; in this, for certain *Italy* goes beyond all the World.

Now we will come to what is worst in them, but we must premise this, that their youth is very fiery, which is the cause of Murthers and other mischiefs committed in those parts; however this heat doth not last usually after they are passed 25 years of age, or a little more: as for the meanest sort of people, they are generally ci-

vil in their carriage, if one be so to them, but if a stranger speaks a hard word to them, they take fire and grow very insolent, yet so, that if they see themselves the weaker, and not in a place convenient for them, they hold their peace and forbear till they have opportunity of time and place; but let's come to their Vices.

As the natural propension of men is to evil more than good, so many who travel into *Italy* do quickly take notice of their Vices, but do not minde their Virtues, so when they come from thence, all that they can say for it is, they are given to such and such evil courses, and are so and so qualified, but Virtue and Vice with Nations are as Corn and Tares in the Field, and like Wheat and Chaff in the Barn, one must have skill to pick out the right and leave the wrong: Some Vices as the Apostle speaks, are not so much as to be named, and as he saith in another place, *It is even a shame to speak of those things which are done of them in secret*; a certain modesty in speaking is required, which if a man doth not observe, I judge him to be disposed to evil doing; some Vices there are so odious in them-

selves, that they defile the tongue of the speaker, the ear of the hearer, the pen of the writer, and the eye of the reader, yea, the very thoughts; this consideration obliges me to pass by some things to come to others.

Some will tell me, 'twere well also to omit speaking of jealousie, which both Sexes there are subject unto, though that of the men, as being the strongest, doth produce the saddest effects; I confess 'tis a very unpleasant subject, which I leave after few words speaking; this extravagant passion which is caused by love, but destroys it, and which as *Solomon* saith, *The rage of a Man*, doth so blind, possess and alter men in *Italy*, that from Husbands it turns them into Gozlers and Tyrants, and Murtherers of their Wives, who become thereby their prisoners and slaves upon this consideration, *Ariosto* one of their most eminent *Poets*, hath the expressions here inserted:

Che dolce più, che più giocondo stato
Saria di quel d'un amoroso cuore?
Che viver più felice, e più beato
Che ritrovarsi in servitù d'amore.
Se non fosse l'huomo sempre stimolato

Da quel' sospetto via, da quel' timore,
Da quel' furor', da quella freneſia,
Da quella rabia detta geloſia.

Another Vice of *Italians* which I am more free to ſpeak of, is that deſire of revenge, which is ſo ſtrongly ſeated in them, they are certainly of a moſt revengeful nature, and therefore 'tis very dangerous to offend them, they profanely ſay, that Vengeance is ſo ſweet a thing, and ſo great a good, that upon that account God doth reſerve it to himſelf, as a thing wherein he will not have men to ſhare with him; and as *Italians* to attain it, uſe all poſſible means, let them be lawful or unlawful, and as it carries them to the utmoſt extremities; ſo I am of opinion, that there is a cruelty in that nature which is ſo bent to the execution of it; out of this principle, I mean of cruelty, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* uſed to ſay, upon the occaſion of a great Princeſs, who in his dayes was brought upon the Scaffold, *Che Guſto*, ſaid he, *di tagliar teſte coronate*, what a pleaſure is it to cut off Crowned Heads! Northerly people do blame the wayes which they uſe to be avenged, as poyſoning, ſtabbing and the like; but they and the

the *Spaniards* too laugh at us, and call *Germans*, *French* and other Nations, fools, who use to challenge and fight duels one with another, for to doing; for say they, if one hath been offended, is he not a fool to take the way, perhaps of receiving a greater offence, instead of a satisfaction, and to venture his life upon such an account, but men ought to take their advantage: the truth is, the *Italian* is a dangerous person upon this account, for he appears cold in his anger, constantly thinking upon the means how to be avenged, he keeps the injury in the bottom of his heart, and the worst is, that he dissembles and conceals his desire of revenge, which aims at no less than the death of the offendor, by the means of poison, dagger, or any other way, leaving nothing unattempted to bring his design to pass.

Neither will they hearken sincerely after a reconciliation; for their proverb, saith, *Amicitie reconciliate, eminestre riscaldate non furono mai grate*, there was never any pleasure in reconciled friendships, nor in warmed pottage; and this is so deeply fixed in their hearts, that many die obstinate in that resolution. Upon this subject there

is a very notable passage of an *Italian* Gentleman, who being strongly exhorted by a *Franciscan Fryar*, to be reconciled to his Enemy, answered him in these words, *You exhort me to forgive as a Christian, and I cannot do't being a Gentleman; I was born a Gentleman before I was a Christian, for I am the one by nature, and the other by virtue of my baptisme; therefore I will first be avenged as a Gentleman, before I forgive as a Christian.*

From what hath been said, we make some few general observations, namely that the *Italian* Nation is not only fallen from that great power it had formerly, but also it hath much degenerated from that heroick virtue and martial spirit it had before; for a thousand eminent men it produced formerly, there is hardly one now; and that generosity of the *Lion* which they had heretofore, is turned into the cunning of the *Fox*; so their businesses are managed with dexterity, (not to speak worst,) more than with strength: hence it may be concluded, that virtues, though but moral ones, make glorious States, Kingdomes and Republicks, and Vices are the cause of their decay, as it

hath

hath happened to the *Roman Empire*; Virtue gets honour, ſtrength and riches, and as the beſt things are apt to be corrupted in their uſe, ſo theſe produce pride, ambition, idleneſs, covetouſneſs, and other vices, which cauſes deſtruction one time or other.

It appears alſo from hence, how unfortunate the condition of thoſe petty Princes are, who depend upon others for their preſervation, their protectors do often turn to be their oppreſſors, and yet they dare not complain of it; how watchful muſt thoſe be who have ambitious, and much more potent Neighbours than themſelves, 'tis a ſad caſe to think what ſtraights they are ſometimes brought to, to provide for their ſafety, and how many real evils they are expoſed unto, to maintain that vain ſhadow of liberty which they are ſo taken with, and that dream of a Sovereign Authority, of which they be ſo fond of; they waſte and conſume themſelves in charges for their preſervation, and are beſides obliged to obſerve the humours of friends and foes; and what is this to the odium and diſaffectedneſs of their Subjects which they often bring upon themſelves, who muſt bear the burthens, and be at the

charges of upholding this Authority, which makes also the condition unhappy of the people who lives under such Princes as have no power to protect them; and as the right use of these two Princely virtues, Valour and Prudence, do consist in these two things, to free his States from forreign, and to avoid civil wars; certainly if they can prevent neither, but with much difficulty, by reason of weakness and discontents, they must needs be constantly offended with dangers and fears, which makes to them their life uncomfortable; and let things fall out how they will, if ever they be engaged in any troubles at home or abroad, what success and advantage can they get either from those who are much more potent then they, or from those in whom their strength ought to lie; by this last they act against their own interest, and do as it were tear themselves in pieces, for 'tis not enough for a war to be just, 'tis necessary it should also be beneficial and advantagious.

I must make one observation more, that the number of petty Princes (such are all *Italian* ones, in comparison of potent Kings and Kingdoms, as *England*, *France* and *Spain*)

Spain) doth much contribute to their common safety and preservation, for every Prince watches constantly the design of another, not only upon his own States, but upon that also of his Neighbour, for he is much concerned that the dominions of one of his neighbours should not fall into the hands of another, who would thereby grow too potent for him, and one time or other bring him upon the Stage; and 'tis a necessary maxime, not only to remove the will and inclination he hath to do him hurt, but also to hinder and prevent his being able to do it; So then, that mutual jealousie which they have one of another, keeps the scales even between them; and if a single one would attempt something upon him who is weaker, then the others whuld not fail directly or indirectly to assist the weakest; and if the Prince should happen to be stronger than all the other together, rather than be made a prey to such a one, they would call in a forreign power to ballance him, as it hath been of late done in *Germany*, for Princes there being grown very jealous, and not without cause, much afraid of the Emperours power, they brought in the *French* and the

Swedes, who having gotten an interest in the Empire, the one in *Alsatia*, the others in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*, and are now concern'd to curb the Imperial Authority if it would over-flow the banks of its just and limited power: this is also the case of *Italy*, where the *French* and the *Spaniard* have each some interest, though the former not comparable to the latter, as to possession of Lands, but when he pleases he can pour thousands of his Subjects into it, having in his hand a door into it, then the differences between the houses of *Savoy* and *Mantoa*, and of *Parma* and *Modena* with the *Pope*, will be now and then an occasion for the *French* to meddle in *Italy*. And although the *Princes* of *Italy* care neither for *French* nor *Spaniard*, yet they care for their interest, which is ever to make use of one to oppose the designs of the other.

So that publick persons, as well as private men, may learn from *Italians*, the rules and practise of Oeconomy and Policy; the greatest of Princes, as the meanest of Subjects, need to be frugal and saving, for let their Incomes be never so great, the charges of the State, and their own, are sometimes greater: often there

happens

happens extraordinary, and undispensible occasions and necessities to be supplyed, or else the State will run into a palpable danger. Men from the highest to the lowest, have nothing but what they save and spare, and let them receive never so much, they will not want unnecessary occasions of laying out more then that comes to. Monies are the sinews, not only of war, but really there cannot be any politick motion without it, wherefore we use to see that of Princes, he is the strongest who is the richest, if he knows how to make use of that advantage: by these means he will draw the greatest and the best Armies into the field, and will keep them upon duty and in obedience, and so in a fit posture for service, the best experienced Officers, and the stoutest and most undaunted Souldiers, will ever follow an exact and a good pay; he will not only secure his own places, but also work within the Garisons of his Neighbours, and even have influences upon their very Councils. The rich Prince will tire out and consume him who is poor; how much then are they concerned, when present occasions of State allow it, to lay up in their Coffers

ers that which may serve for the future necessities of it; that Prince who is in this condition, is feared, respected, and admired at home and abroad, if he hath learned well how to improve this advantage.

As to that part of a Princes policy, which consists in this, *Not to discover the bottom of his heart, nor the utmost of his Power*; we have it from *Italians*, not the former, for when the inclinations of a Prince come to be found out, and his heart can be known, then all his neighbor Princes will work upon him that way; they will give him monies if he be covetous, praises and flatteries if he be proud and vain; they will go about to strike fear into him if he be timorous, or in a contrary way to please him in that passion, which they know to be predominant in him; and hereby many a time he will be drawn to act or comply in those things which are contrary to his honour and interest: At home he is also exposed to the *attempts* of *Parasites* and *Flatterers*, who for their own ends, ever study to please him in that which they know him to be most of all prone and given to, by which

com-

compliance with him, he becomes a prey unto them: the latter part of this policy, for a *Prince* not to *discover the utmost of his power*, is to be learned from *Italians*, as well as the former. Some *Princes* and *States* do subsist and are upheld by credit and reputation more then by a real strength; 'tis more by the opinion which others have of them, then by any true cause in themselves; and 'tis well for one never to do so much, but to give others to think that he can do more, for when 'tis once found out how far one may go, others will be more apt to cross him, and will take courses suitable to their designs against him; so that in this a Prince lies open to the attempts of others.

Another thing necessary for publick and private persons to be learned from *Italians*, as much as from any other Nation, is, *Not to discover the utmost reach of ones capacity*, and of that faculty of the soul, called understanding or intellect: this learned men do so observe, that in the solution of questions, though sometimes they have said as much as they are able, yet they will tell one, that much more might be said to that purpose, and the like;

for

for above all things they would avoid to be suspected of ignorance by others, seeing they make an open profession of learning. So 'tis a matter of high concernment to Princes to be accounted to be men of parts, judicious and understanding, which are qualifications necessary to those who rule Kingdomes and Nations, therefore they are so careful not to give the least grounds to make people suspect they want abilities to govern, seeing nothing can be so injurious and prejudicial to them, as to be accounted soft and shallow heads. *Solomon* the wisest of Kings, pronounces a woe to that land whose Princes are children, not so much in years as in wisdom and understanding, as was his son *Rehoboam*, who was said to be young at 40 years of age, for want of knowledge and experience: a wise Prince therefore will chuse not to speak at all, rather then not to speak to the purpose upon a subject: hence it is also that he sits in Council, not only to hear the several advices given him there, but also to judge of them himself, and having digested it in his mind, to give them a form, chuse the best, and be himself the Author of his resolutions in consequence:

sequence of Councils given him, which thus he makes to be his own. It is then a great part of wisdom to conceal his ignorance, and in capacity of any things, specially of those which ought to be known, and to give as good opinion as one can of his abilities, and rather forbear speaking of a thing then not to do it well, or instead of praises which every one is desirous of, one brings himself into slight and contempt, for I think that one of the greatest discommendations of a man is this, he was so put to it, that he knew not what to say.

Silence also, and *Secresie*, which are qualities so essentially necessary to all sorts of persons, are to be learned from the same Nation, as nothing makes a man so vile and so contemptible, as not to be able to hold his peace (an imperfection and defect to be excused only in children, fools and drunken persons) so nothing argues so much the infidelity and rashness of a publick person, as the revealing of secrets; as I am the Master of my own secret, I may declare it to a friend; but my friends secret I may not tell it to another, because 'tis not my own; much less

may

may a publick Minister betray his masters secret, wherein not only one or few persons, but whole Nations for the most part are concerned. Many great designes have been obstructed, and many great evils caused or prevented, either by an untimely discovery of resolutions, or by some few words spoken unadvisedly; one word dropt from a mans mouth is sufficient at least to breed a suspition, which usually puts men upon further inquiries and discoveries; therefore want of secresie is a great breach of prudence, which is the Salt, the Spirit and the Life of Moral and Politick Vertues.

One thing more to be learned is, *Constancy and Settledness of Mind*, so necessary to private men, in both fortunes, and to publick persons in times of troubles and difficulties. A skilful Pilot is not moved so, as to despair amidst the roaring of the winds, the tossing and tumbling of the waves, and the raging of the storm; contrariwise he sticks the closer to his work, grows more careful, and minds the more the safety of the Ship, wherein his own and all others in it are included: So an experienced Minister of State, amidst all troubles,

bles, crosses and conspiracies against the State, doth retain that soundness of mind, and tranquility of soul, which at last may bring him out of all dangers, instead of falling into confusion and disorder, or yielding to fear, he uses those means which are lawful, possible, and likely to quiet and pacifie things; he is not moved at different reports, he is neither incredulous nor over credulous, but hears every thing, examines and weighs all, receives that which to him appears to be the truest, and resolves upon that which he thinks to be the best.

That *Italians* have known and practised these things, the history of antient *Rome*, and the experience of these last times do justifie it, and some able States-men, and great Politicians, whom that Nation hath afforded *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and other Countries, do clearly convince of this truth, and are presidents of it, and one single Proverb of theirs (to shew how solid and substantial they are) doth teach us all the Vertues aforesaid in these words, *Non spendor' cio che tu hoi, non*

far'

far' cio che tu puoi, non creder' cio che tu udi; that is, *One must not spend all that he hath, nor do all that he can, nor tell all that he knows, nor believe all that he hears.*

The

THE CHARACTER OF SPAIN.

IN the South-west parts of *Europe*, between the 37. and 42. degrees of latitude, lies a potent Kingdome, named *Spain*, or *Spains* in the plural number, for so *Philip* II. called himself, *Rex Hispaniarum*, after the acquisition he made of *Portugal*, in the year 1550. it fell into the hands of the House of *Austria* by the match of *Philip* the xi. first son to *Maximilian* of *Austria*, with the daughter of *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, and *Isabella* of *Castilla*, heir of those Countries, united by the marriage of the said *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*.

These

These dominions have in time been so enlarged by marriages and conquests, as to reach some things in *Africa*, a great part of *Europe*, and almost all *America*, which hath given occasion to say, That the sun never shines out of the *Spanish* dominions.

The struglings of this Nation after an Universal Monarchy, have proved so lusty and so hard, that at one time or other, whole *Europe* hath been shaken with it: whereby the *Spanish* name is become so famous, that 'tis not to be admired at, if curiosity of seeing a Countrey where so great designs were continued, hath put several men upon travelling into it.

I confess, with many others, I have been taken with that itching desire, in hope of seeing an extraordinary land, peopled with none but Heroes, but with what successe, the following discourse shall witnesse, being sure that no curiosity was ever more severely punished then mine, nor pleasure more constantly attended with pain: if this be a sin, I vow never again to fall into it, and herein I ought not to be accounted singular, for I protest I found all those whom I conversed with, and who have been there, to be of my opinion; but patience.

rience. In this World one must see not only good but evil also, things better judged of by their contraries, yet to go thorough, one must be stored with monies and patience.

Let a man begin this Journey which way he pleases, he will find it very tedious, and must resolve to suffer many inconveniences: whither he goes from *Bayone* to *Irun*, *San Sebastian*, and thence the straight way to *Victoria*, *Puerto de sant Adrian*, or on the left, to *Pamplona* in *Navarra* by *Estella de Navarra* (where is an University) *la Puente de la Reyna* and *Viana* passing by *Logrono*, whence some go to *Santo Domingo de la Calcada*, in the Church whereof are seen a Cock and a Hen of the breed (as 'tis reported) of those which (if you will believe it) came to life again after they had been roasted; and to be short, thence to *Burgos Valladolid*, *Medina del Campo*, *Salamanco Seyonia*, *el puerto de guadarrama*, *Iscuriale el Pardo* and *Madrid*, *Alcala de trenares*, *Aranjues*, *Toledo*, *&c.*

Or whether a man goes into *Spain* by *Catalonia*, *Valenza*, *Murcia*, *Grenada*; one shall be ill horsed, hardly used, and have

have bad accommodation; of which three things, one alone is enough to vex a Traveller.

Although *Spanish* Horses be very good, there are so few, that they are not employed in ordinary uses, Mules must doe the worke, which are very slow creatures, very ill harnessed, and very dangerous for biting kicking; to these inconveniencies, let a *Spaniard* be joyned as a guide, who as well as the Mule, keeps to his slow pace, caused not only by his natural gravity, but also (when they walk as many do) by shooes made of little cords, which the generality of them doth wear, so that the sand and drye ground they walk upon being already much heated by the Sun, must needs gall and burn their Feet, let them be never so used to't, this must needs be very tedious to those who are used to ride good Horses.

But there are other difficulties caused by the rudeness and barbarity of men; all rational people will shew themselves civil to Strangers who pass thorough their Countrey, to give them cause to commend the Inhabitants when they are

out-

out of it; but here no such thing is thought upon, they are called by the nick-name *Gavachos*, and assoon as a man comes into *Spain* he must shew all the moneys he hath about him, and every thing else, and must pay for't according as he is taxed by those unreasonable men, whether it be a silver Sword, a Watch, a Ring, silver Buttons and the like, so that nothing goes free; and then, if any thing lyes in the way of these Searchers, they will make conscience to take it as dexterously as they can, and though one should take notice of it, yet he dares hardly say any thing for fear of the worst, because sometimes they send one or other upon the passage to rob or kill as they have a minde to.

After this they give a note, which some call *Albaran*, and others *Alnala*, to certifie to other searchers that the things have been payed for; yet for all this, others if they please (and they do't very often except monies be given them) they cause one to open all again, they search all, and make pay for all; and the worst is, that this sort of men ever lies at the coming in and going out of every Province

vince, which in those parts (for greatness sake) they call Kingdomes, so that after this rate one is to pass thorough several Kingdoms before he can come to *Madrid*. At the coming out of *Spain* one meets with the like (or worse usage if it be possible) as he found at the going into't.

But after all, the worst is, that one hath no accommodation by the way, for sometimes you shall ride 30. miles and not see a house, nor meet with a man, so that in some places one must carry for himself something to eat, and Oats for the Mule, and so lie sometimes under a Tree: how uncomfortable this is in Winter, and the heat of Summer, I leave every one to judge.

And the misery is, that when one comes to an Inn, he is hardly the better for't, for excepting some *Alcoues* which are used onely by persons of quality, all the bed you can get, is some formes or few boards lay'd close, with straw or wooll at the most, within a matteress upon't, without Bed-steads or Curtains, for they know not what such things mean, and if one will have clean sheets, the

the surest way is to carry some along with him.

Yet this is but beginning of trouble, for these Inns (if I may so call it) afford nothing to eat, and if you will have bread, you must send for't out of the house into one place, for Wine into another, for Meat into another, for one can hardly find two such different things in one place; after all, if you will have it well dressed, I advise you to have a Cook of your own.

Now see whether or not I have reason to wish my self out of this Countrey, but I must go throughout, seeing I am so far engaged in't, and give some observations I made of their nature, and of some manners and customes of theirs.

Though the *Spaniard* be not very sociable, yet 'tis easy for a man to know his natural Genius and Inclination as to the generality: I confess amongst the true *Castillans*, some Generous and Gallant men are to be found, but these are so scarce, that we may say of it, as of Bread, the Countrey affords it very good, but so little of it, that though the Countrey (*Catalonia* excepted) be very void of Inhabi-

tants, there is hardly enough of it to serve 3. months in the year, so of 10000. men, hardly one will be found to have a right principle of honesty.

If at any time a man hath offended them, though it be an offence taken rather than given, they will seem not to take notice of it, but they will watch one so long, and so well, that at last he must fall into their Clutches; then they give no quarter, but one night or other as a man is going to his Lodging; they will shoot him dead in a treacherous way, and when he is not aware of them.

Their Pride is known by the contempt they have for all other Nations, therefore they say their King alone is *El Rey de los hombres*; the same they affirme of their Language, but most of all 'tis known by their carriage; they have an affected gravity which goes beyond the natural, and make themselves valiant with ostentation.

They walk up and down the Streets like Peacocks and Turkies with a great deal of pride, staring upon others, and looking on themselves from top to toe with a lofty, scornful and braving countenance;

tenance; and yet when there is occasion to go to it, except there be three or four against one, *Toman las culcas de villa diego*, as they say, that is in plain *English*, they run away, till they have an opportunity of being avenged; and this is most of all practised in *Valenza*, *Arragona*, *Catalonia*, &c. in *Castilla*, and some other places; there being more generosity than in others.

In Summer, they wear long Cloakes of black *London* Serge, specially those who are of any fashion, but I have seen some of Cloth and very heavy, for they say, that which keeps from cold, preserves also from the heat; their shooes for the most part have no heele, or a very little one; the clock of their stockings comes up to the fat of their legg.

It were needless for me to make an exact description of their cloathes, seeing they often have been seen in *England*, specially in Eighty Eight. I shall not dispute whether they are becoming or not, much of it depending upon custome and fancy, yet they are so taken with it, that still they keep to their fashion in most Countries where they live, and very hardly can re-

solve upon changing in some Courts where they have Ambassadours, for else they have so good opinion of their Countries that they scorn almost all others, and account them not worthy to be seen, except the low Countries, *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Milan*, the *West-Indies*, &c. where they goe to feather their Nest and to grow rich, and often they take such course, as makes them speed well in't in a very short time.

They use to wear Sword and Dagger, and though their Cloak be new, very often they make a hole in it, that the Dagger may be seen; the lowest sort of tradesmen, as Carpenters, Shooe-makers, &c. never sit at their work without a Dagger by their sides. Thus the Commonalty is possessed with pride, witness the story of the Woman, who being a Begger, yet would not have her son to serve an Ambassadour; I will not said she (being spoken to about it) undervalue my son so much, who knows whether one day he shall not be King of *Spain*. Hence it is that we do not see *Spaniards* to be servants of men of other Nations, nor to travel but upon the account of necessity. Now this vanity follows them to their grave, as we hear of

the Cobler, who being upon his death-bed, having called his Children to him, said to them, Take heede you do nothing to disparage your selves, or to dishonour your Family.

To see the meanest of them in their cloathes, and to act their gravity, is a thing to make any Stranger mistake their quality, insomuch, that one day in their late Kings time, a forreign Minister being private in his Lodging, took one of them for a *Grandee*, who (as he thought) came to give him a visit *incognito*, as 'tis usual in those parts, and received him with a great civility, but at last this proved to be a Glasier, who went to mend a window: and they so much affect gravity in their march, that one of them being once whipped at *Paris*, (you may conceive not for any good he had done) and being told by some spectators who pittyed him, to mend his pace, that he might sooner come out of his pains, he turned about, and with much gravity, told them, that he would not go an inch the faster, though all the Hangmen of *France* were at his heels.

But to goe on in telling of their good qualities, I must not omit to say that idle-

ness, and laziness are some of those which most of all they are subject to: I cannot tell whether it be meerly an effect of their natural disposition, or a trust they put to the Harvest they receive from the *Indies*; or, as I believe, of both; but the matter is such, that their Land which in many places is good, and could be made fruitful, not only in Fruites and good Wines, but also in other Necessaries, for want of being manured, is barren and useless. Now the Ground doth not produce without the care of man; at present God doth not shew us such Miracles, as he hath done sometimes in the dayes of old.

If Tradesmen amongst them, do work 2 or 3 hours in the day, they will think themselves the greatest workmen in the world, and they who see them at work, must pay as dear, as if they had been a whole day at it: when this is done, they go to play or sport themselves one way or other, but those that live in Sea-Towns never fail to walk by the Sea-side, to see Ships coming in, to enquire what parts of the world they come from, and what news they bring: and here Passengers do find some office of the Inquisition sum-

moning them to go and give an account of their Faith to the Office, but their chief end is to get a piece of money, and then they let people alone.

Others there are in these Sea-Towns, who drive another sort of Trade, they come aboard and offer to Passengers wine and other provisions at a very low rate, only to oblige them to go to their houses, where they shew them *Spanish* flesh rather than Victuals.

No Nation hath more ceremony, and less reality than the *Spanish*, when they think to cut one's throat, then they make the greatest protestations of love and friendship: they stand so much upon titles and places, that as *Boccalini* saith, it is a particular custome of *Spaniards*, to visit others more to affront, than to honour them. Complements also are so mixed with their ordinary discourses, that they wholly take away the pleasure of Society, & banish Liberty, wherein doth consist the sweetness of Conversation: An *English* Nobleman having often been troubled at *Madrid* with such a way of dealing by one of their Great men, resolved one day to be avenged on him, therefore once

when the other was come to him, he caused a great fire to be made, and both being drawn near to it, with their backs towards the Chimney, the Nobleman engaged the *Spaniard* in discourses of Civility, who many times bowed towards the fire, which he did so often, that at last feeling the heat, he clapt his hand upon the back side, and found the fire had burned part of it, he was as amazed, as the other who sitting by a fire, and feeling the heat thorough his Boots, said, I am afraid of burning my Boots, when another who stood by answered, Sir, do not mind your Boots, for already they are gone, onely look to the Spurs.

They profess a new Divinity, to allow of a certain evil, that an uncertain may be avoided thereby, that is to practice a *Peccadillo* as they call it, a little sin, to avoid falling into a greater, and for fear of *Sodomy*, to indulge themselves in their Leachery; a thing so generally used amongst them, that he who hath not his love in that kind, is accounted a man without wit and merit; and the generality of them goes as openly and freely into such places, as here one will goe to a Tavern, or an Ale-

Ale-house: they *consuetudo peccandi, tollit sensum peccati*, the custom of sinning, takes away the sense of sin; their Proverb is, *El fatigado con cosas deveres, recreese con donagres*, he who is a weary of serious things, must betake himself to his pleasures; of which, as of Wines they allow themselves a *Calabrada*, a mixture and variety, wherein they so much indulge themselves, that rather than be deprived of the least, they will loose any thing; whereupon they use to say, *Siempre en las tardangas ay peligro, y. vale mas paxaro en mano que buy tre volando*, A bird in hand is better than two in the bush; which they mean of their pleasures.

Sometimes I have seen some of their Priests come to Strangers Lodgings (provided they be acquainted with the Landlord) to play with them, in a disguise, not out of any shame, but only to have more liberty with those who know them not, except a Landlord, or some body else tells them what they are.

There be also some Priests and Fryars carrying up and down the Streets, the Image of one or other *Nuestra Sennora*, as they call it, for whom they beg, & yet the

poor Lady is never the better for it; for most part of the time, what they have gotten, they bestow upon their own pleasures, and other uses; and once I saw at *Alicant*, one of them, who played at Cardes what monies he had then about him, and lost it to an *English* Master of a Ship: whereby we see how ready they are to sacrifice their shew and pretence of Devotion, to their pleasure or covetousness; and sometimes they dispose of it another way, which is, to make a mock at what they call piety themselves, and which we, with a more proper word, do name superstition.

Many of these Secular, and Regular Priests, are very offensive to the Laity, by reason of the great power the Clergy hath in those parts, who assert their priviledges with a great severity, by the means of the Inquisition, which is formidable to the greatest men in the Land, as to the lowest; so that under this shelter, they commit many unjust and unlawful things.

But in general, to return to the Nation, they are very singular in their Diet, still making good the Proverb which saies, *A Spaniard is not sober when he lives at*

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the coasts of others: but else they are very sparing and I am very much of the opinion of one, who thinks that in *London*, there is more Meat eaten in one Month, than in whole *Spain* in one Year. They do not roast whole Capons, and Pullets, but Leggs, and Wings by themselves, and then spread the feathers before their doors, to make others think that good chear is made in that house; a Cruft of Bread rubbed with Garlick, or an Onion, is an ordinary and a good diet for them, which, if a Stranger sees them to eat, they presently fall upon commending of Sobriety, and how wholsom a thing it is: many a time I have seen numbers of them dine so, close by a wall, to enjoy the heat of the Sun, which is their ordinary fire in those parts, so saving they endeavour to be in every thing; yet if any one will have the pleasure, how well they can eat, or rather devour, let him treat them at his own charges.

For certain flesh is very nourishing there, but this is not the onely reason of their sobriety, 'tis also dear, in part, because 'tis scarce, and also by reason of a great Tax laid upon Butchers: Fruits, herbs and roots, are things which they feed upon most of all,

all, and in every thing almoſt, they uſe much *Pimiento*, a kind of red Pepper which grows in the country; but they are not uſed to ſee any quantity of meat upon a table; this is the reaſon why *Gondomour* being gone back into *Spain* from his Ambaſſy in *England*, and being asked by his Maſter about ſeveral faſhions uſed here in the Court, amongſt the reſt, being very inquiſitive to know what ceremonies were uſed here when the King was at table; he anſwered, for his part, he could not well tell, though he had been in the Dining Room when his Majeſty was at Dinner, becauſe, ſaid he, he was hidden from him by a great piece of Beef which was laid upon the Table.

They allow not their wives to ſit at table with them, thoſe perſons of quality are private in a chamber and by themſelves, but others of the common ſort of people, do uſually keep in the ſame chamber where their husbands dine, at a table with their children, or elſe there is a place raiſed half a foot or thereabouts above the flower, with a Carpet laid over it, thereupon the wife, and children either kneel or ſit without Chairs, and eat what the husband is

pleased to send them from his Table, so that to speak the truth, they are deprived of their liberty and kept in great subjection, little different from slavery.

Which hard usage they are sensible of, upon occasion doing them all the turns of unfaithfulness which they are able, being naturally by the influences of the climate, the hot things they eat and drink, and out of a desire of the liberty they see themselves abridged off, much inclined to luxury; they take care to curle their hair, keep their breast naked, yet not so low as the shoulders, they paint it self with red their lips and cheeks, a custom so general amongst them, that they hide it not one from another; they wear above their waist a fardingale, or *Guarda infanta*, as they call it, which is like a circle of a good breadth, and very fit to hide a big belly; when they go thorough a narrow door they must strike it down of one side; those of an inferiour quality, when they are abroad, do usually wear a black Hood which falls lower then their breast and shoulders, and hides the whole face, except one eye, which is all one is able to see of it, whereby they are so hard to be known, that towards e-

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vening a husband going by his wife shall have much ado to know her; though they be more civil to those strangers or others whom they intend to favour, by uncovering the whole face when they come nigh to them: they improve the few moments they have of liberty, and they endeavour to *hazer su Agosto*, to speak in their own words, or as we say, Make Hay whilst the Sun shines, and they do it *de la buena gana*, with a good will.

Men there, are extraordinarily careful of their Beards, which are black and thick with Mustacchio's or Tusks, to save them at night, they have *las bigotes*, that is a kind of a waxed Case which they lay upon it, and which to one who knows not what it is, seems very strange in a morning when they appear with it at a Window: they also make a Beard so essential to a man, that if he be altogether shaven, as now we are in *England*, they will doubt whether or not he be an Eunuch: and in the streets of *Madrid*, I have seen an outlandish man of about 30 years of age, taken by the arme by a woman who never saw him before, and asked him very boldly, *tien los Cojones voste*, Sir, are you a whole man, because he was wholly shaven.

A thing which most of all seemed strange to me in *Spain*, is the custome of some to walk in the streets with Spectacles on their Noses, which with a little thread they tye to both ears, and there is a two-fold reason for it; the one is the scorching heat of the Sun which heats so much the ground, that the reverberation of it is hurtful to the eye, but as in Winter the sun is not so hot as in Summer, so methinks the use of these Spectacles should cease; therefore besides the former there is an inward reason, arising from the immoderate luxury which they are given to, for by reason of the strict communication there is between those parts and the head, specially the Opticks, the Organ is much offended, and consequently weakned, so that this people becomes short sighted; and I think that the fresh waters with Ice, which they so much drink of in summer, are used to cool their lust more then to quench their thirst.

The extraordinry long swords they have must needs be very inconvenient, specially by reason of the long cloaks they wear them under, insomuch that most part of time they must turn up their cloaks of one side when they walk, and the other hand they

they must lay upon the hilt of the sword, that thereby the point of it be lifted up, otherwise it would constantly trail upon the ground, and often the crosse above the hilt being of one side turned upwards, and downwards on the other, seems at the same time threatning heaven and earth.

Formerly they used to wear Ruffs about their necks, which were forbidden, because in *Arragon* a great man was strangled with it, so that since that time they have been lookt upon as a halter about ones neck, and instead of it, they use a little band stretched and stiffned with a little wire.

In their discourses they would be taken for Senators, for upon every occasion they play the Statesmen, they dispose of Crowns Scepters and Kingdoms, just as if they were of Gods council, they decide the fortune of Princes, censure the actions and carriage of Ministers of state, and when they are three or four together, one would think that like so many Gods they sit in council to resolve upon the fate, and dispose of all States and Empires of the world, and this not by conjectures, but out of a certain and infallible knowledge, and whilest they fancy Mountains of Gold, and think how to dis-

dispossesse other Nations of their Country, they take no notice how void of people their own is, by reason of their driving the *Moores* out of *Granada*, of their Plantations in the *Indies*, their wars in *Flanders* and *Italy*, and of the many Garrisons they must keep in sundry places; thus they make good their Proverb, *cada loco con suvema*, every fool hath his fancies.

Benefit and pleasure are the two great ends of Travellers; but in *Spain* neither is to be had, the people of it not being sociable, and there is hardly any thing worthy of a mans curiosity, or at least the pains to go to see it; all *Spain* doth not afford one noble and stately City. *Pamplona* in *Navarra* is noted for the Citadel in't, *Burgos* the *Metropolis* of *Castilla* the old for the great Church, and an inconsiderable Castle, *Valladolid* where formerly the Court hath resided for a considerable time, is a proverb, *Villa per villa*, *Valladolid en Castilla*, but there are not so much as walls about it. *Salamanca* hath the famous University of *Spain*, their is the Bridge built by the *Romans*, and the Bull at one end of it; *Segovia* hath without the Monasterie, called *Parral*, the Mint, a Palace and the

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Aqueducts, & the fine Cloth made there: *Toledo* the chief Arch-bishoprick of *Spain*, hath a great Church & a thing called the Treasure within it, & Water-works; so at *Granada* is the Palace of the Palace of the Kings of the *Moors*, the *Alcrambra*: *Cordova* hath the *Mosques* or Church of the *Moors*, *Sarragossa* is a good place, and to be short, their *Sevile* the chief of *Andaluzia*, of which their Proverb says, *El que non ha vista Sevilla, non ha vista Maravilla*: indeed about it grow good fruits, the River *Guadulquivir* runs by, and after falls into the Sea by *Sanlucar de Burrameda*, but certainly in other places are much better Churches, Palaces, Bridges, Universities, &c. and I say that all these things together are not worth the pains and the charges of going so far to see them, except a man hath absolutely a mind to be able to say, I have seen; neither is a good breeding to be gotten there.

Indeed there are in *Spain* two things worth seeing, and no more, one is a work of nature, the River *Guadiana* in *Estramudara*, sinking under ground beyond *Placio del Rey*, and then raising about *Mojada* nigh upon 14 short leagues off; upon this account

count 'tis said they have the best bridge of *Europe*: the other is the *Escurial*, the Master-piece of the great and wise King *Philip* II. though 'twas no part of wisdome in him to have at once 3 such great designs, to conquer *England*, uphold the league in *France*, and to recover the Low-Countries, all which came to nothing, because as the *Italian* saith, *Chi troppo abraccia nulla stringe*; however he built the *Escuriale* where the Courts, the Kings and Queens Lodgings, the Fryars Cloysters, the water, the Gardens, the Library, the Chappel, in a word, the whole is a rare thing, but not so miraculous to those who have seen other parts of the world; the *Pardo*, *buen retiro* and *Aranjuez*, I will hardly mention, those forenamed are the best things in *Spain*, but he who hath a mind to suffer so many inconveniences before he comes thither must do it by way of Penance; as for Cities, *Barcelona* is certainly the most populous of any in *Spain*.

The rest of these towns are full of pride, idleness, misery, cheats, treachery murthers and other oppressions, caused by their ambition, animosities, covetousness, desire of revenge, luxury and jealousies about Wives,

Wives, Concubines, Daughters, Sisters, Neeces, and what other relations they have of that Sex, they account themselves obliged to be watchful over: yet for all their poverty they are taken with the vanity which is too common in other places, nor to observe a distinction of cloaths according to the quality of persons, for I have seen Carpenters and Shoemakers in Silver cloath doublets, and in extraordinary fine cloath; but I know it to be their humour, that the poorer they are, the more they indeavour to hide it, the best countenance they put on, and the greatest shew they make: their very *Alguazils* or *Bailies*, who are the vilest sort of People, think themselves as good as the best in the land, and to see them walk with a switch lifted up in their hand, one would perceive in them as much loftiness, as if they were high stewards, or high chamberlains of the Kingdome.

But to speak of something which is or ought to be the best in *Spain*, we must come to *Madrid*, the ordinary place of the Courts residence, which is far from being numerous, and their way is particular and different from others; the generality

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of Women about it, are antient and tanned, but they use painting very much as a remedy to it: Yet I confess I have seen in *Spain* some with a very white skin, (but these are scarce) a brown hair, and a lively black eye, but there is not that honest Society of both Sexes which is found in other places: and great men do so affect gravity, and stand so much upon their formalities and points of honour, that amongst them there can be no sincerity nor satisfaction.

Coaches in *Madrid* are drawn by mules, in them Ladies sit in the same Gravity which men do affect, they are almost like Statues without motion, and when they think fit to move the head, 'tis done in so slow and so lingring a way, that one who is not used to it, would admire to see it; for all this I believe if they had the liberty which others enjoy in other places, some of them would prove the wittiest and most gallant Women in the World, even as were the *Moors* in *Granada*, but as things stand they must live a very retired manner of life.

On the other side, no greater prostitution in the world then there is in that Town, for the generality of Women: mothers make

make no difficulties to sell their daughters maidenheads four or five times, and as often as they can to cheat men; young girles begin to keep mens company when they are but ten, eleven, or at the most twelve years old, this is the cause of so much infection there in that kind, that it is a lamentable thing for any one who hath the curiosity to see their Hospitals of incurables, besides that horrid sin which to punish sufficiently no pain was found upon earth, but God was pleased to pour down, as it were, hell from heaven, causing fire and brimstone to rain and shower down upon earth; about this horrid sin they have this proverb in their language, *En Spania los Cavalleros, en Francia los pedantos, en Italia todos.*

A thing observable in the Court is the way of their Grandees, who sit down and put on their hats in the Kings presence; of these men there are three sorts, some have it by a personal priviledge and special favour of the King, others have it as an hereditary right and propriety derived from their parents, and others in the third place, have it by a right of their charge and place, as namely the President of the Council of

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Castilla, who though he be not a Grandee, yet enjoys the same priviledge as they do. *Charles* the fifth was the Author of these Grandees, to gratifie the *Spanish* Nation, and in some kind make some of them equal with some *German* Princes who followed him in that voyage, and who by their quality and extraction, had the right of sitting and being covered in his presence, a thing which other *European* Kings do not allow of, *Portugal* excepted.

Again, at *Madrid* is to be seen that cruel Bull-fighting, a remainder of those bloody spectacles used by the *Romans* for to give a pleasure to the spectators, men as mad as the Bulls they fight against, must encounter those wild creatures, and hazard in a combate which hath proved fatal to the lives of so many.

What shall I say of *Madrid* it self, where are neither good streets nor stately buildings, antient or Modern, not considerable for the materials or for the rules of Architecture; in winter there is nothing but dirt, and dust in summer, so that if for the space of three or four hours men have been to walk, their cloaths shall be as white for dust, as if they had been at the

Mill,

Mill, so that 'tis no wonder if their cloaths and Taffity hats (that is overlaid with Taffita) grow greasie so soon. Above all, let not one who is there walk abroad late at night, nor very early in the morning, for as they have no houses of office they fling it up and down the streets, and how unpleasant these objects are to the Nose, and the Eye, let any one judge, yet about 9 or 10 of the Clock there is nothing to be seen, but all is dissolved into dust, & as men say, that one stench & poison drives away another, so their use of Onions and Garlick is by them thought to be a sovereign remedy against these *Spanish* Perfumes we are now speaking of; the Air indeed is the only good thing at *Madrid*, for 'tis very pure and free from the Plague. But if for all this men have a mind to go to see that stinking place, I will say to them in *Spanish*, *Sea con pie derecho*, that is in an *English* sence, Much good may't do to them.

FINIS.